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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH AFRICA DISCUSSED

Dakar AFRICA in French Dec 83 pp 19-25

[Article by Raphael Mergui and Shalam Cohen: "The Story of the Secret Relations Between Africa and Israel: Toward a Resumption"]

[Text] Africa's nearly total break with Israel in 1973 did not put an end to certain secret relations, but it was not until Shamir was appointed to head Foreign Affairs in 1980 that Israel went on the offensive on the Black Continent, where some heads of state do not conceal the fact that they miss Israel's expertise in the agricultural and military fields. Jerusalem has therefore made some attempts in the past two years. Will it succeed in turning them into a resumption of diplomatic relations, as in the case of Zaire and Liberia? Corridor diplomacy is bustling....

On the morning of 14 July 1982, a stocky little man discreetly took his seat in the 1st class section of the Swissair flight heading for Zurich. His name was Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli minister of foreign affairs. In order to go unnoticed, he broke the rule that would have Israeli officials traveling by El Al. Even more unusual, he was alone, except for the quiet presence of a few bodyguards. From Zurich. There, he met secretly with Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny for three to four hours. It was the Israeli minister who had requested the meeting.

He tried to convince Houphouet, long a friend of Israel, to proclaim the resumption of diplomatic relations with Jerusalem, arguing that he had the promise of four African chiefs of state that they would follow his example: Togo, Ghana, Liberia and Gabon. Nor was it the first Israeli attempt. At the beginning of 1981, the "Old Man" had been particularly clear, telling Israeli diplomat Eliachiv Ben-Horin: "The Ivory Coast was the last African nation to break its diplomatic relations with Israel, but it cannot be the first to renew them."

This time, Shamir was more optimistic because he could guarantee Houphouet that he would not be alone. When he mentioned the name of Samuel Doe as one of the first who would follow the Ivorian example, he made a blunder. Irritated, Houphouet replied: "Liberia is free to do what it wants." Shamir forgot that Doe had had one of the best friends of the Ivorian chief of state, William Tolbert, assassinated.

But Houphouet reaffirmed his intention to demonstrate good will and asked Shamir to do the same by taking a step toward the solution of the Palestinian problem. Shamir did not get the impression that it was a preliminary condition and thus returned to Israel optimistic, although he had obtained no formal promise from Houphouet.

In November 1983, one had the impression that Houphouet would decide to take the leap. A Parisian newspaper echoed the pressure of President Bourguiba in order to dissuade him from renewing relations with Israel. We asked David Kimche, general director of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, what he thought of the pressure. Puzzled, he replied: "We do not know whether the pressure will be effective; we are waiting. In Israel, we are accustomed to suspense."

On Thursday, 10 November, however, a vote went unnoticed in the United Nations. For the third year in a row, the General Assembly condemned the Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear power plant in Tamuz. Some 123 countries voted for the condemnation; two opposed it (the United States and Israel), while 12 abstained, including two African nations: Malawi and the Ivory Coast.

Ties Never Broken

The Israeli offensive in Africa for the resumption of diplomatic ties is mainly formal. It conceals another much more important fact: With or without official ties, Israel has singularly strengthened its presence on the African continent in the past 3 years. In some cases, those ties were never completely broken.

We are far from October 1973, when Israeli tanks were rolling over African soil in Egypt for the first time, following Sharon's victorious counteroffensive on the Suez Canal.

Twenty African countries had then recalled their ambassadors from Tel Aviv or Jerusalem, with the exception of only one: Malawi. In addition to solidarity with Egypt, the radicalization of part of the Black Continent and the financial promises of the Arab oil states intoxicated by the spiraling price of oil have played an important role.

For some African chiefs of state, the break is without joy. When the Israeli ambassador came to say goodbye, Mobutu told him: "There is a time in the life of a nation, as in the life of an individual, when one has to choose between his family and his friends. It is not important to know which of the two he loves the most. At such a time, one has to take the side of one's family." The Ivory Coast and Liberia dragged their feet before breaking off relations.

A number of African countries are hinting to the Israelis that they are ready to have discreet relations with them. Jerusalem accepts this worst of two evils against its will.

The only notorious exception is that of Kenya. Although unofficial, relations between Nairobi and Jerusalem have not suffered from the Israeli-Arab conflict at any time. El Al planes continue to land in Nairobi. The intelligence

departments of the two countries cooperate closely. Kenya has turned over to Israel two German terrorists who tried to shoot down an El Al plane in Nairobi. It was the only foreign country to be informed of the Entebbe operation. Its cooperation was indispensable. Moreover, one can now reveal that one of the two Hercules 130's participating in the 1976 raid received authorization to land in Ndjamena -- Chad had broken with Israel in 1976 -- so that its crew might repair an equipment breakdown.

Named minister of foreign affairs in the first Cabinet in 1977, Moshe Dayan harbored great bitterness toward the Africans, especially since most of the nations on the continent had voted for the 1975 UN resolution labeling Zionism as racism. He would even sabotage Begin's efforts to try for a rapprochement with Africa.

At the time of his first meeting with Jimmy Carter, Begin surprised him by asking him to improve Washington's relations with Mengistu, already a loyal ally of the Soviet bloc. Israel still had a representative in Addis Ababa. At the beginning of February 1978, Dayan made a deliberate provocation, declaring that Israel was shipping weapons to Ethiopia. Furious, Mengistu ordered the last Israelis to leave the country. All bonds with Israel were broken.

Since Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, Dayan considered Ben-Gurion's vision of the importance of Africa as outdated. To what he considered to be "African integration," Dayan responded with indifference, if not a certain hostility.

It was not until he was replaced at the head of Foreign Affairs by Yitzhak Shamir in 1980 that Israel went on the offensive in Africa.

A veteran of the Mossad, Shamir had been on many secret missions to Africa. He is therefore very familiar with the Black Continent.. Although he is a notorious hawk in relations with the Arabs, he is much more pragmatic than his predecessor, even boasting of having an anticolonialist past. In 1945, as chief of operations of the Stern terrorist group, he organized the assassination in Cairo of the British general resident in Cairo, Lord Moyne, in order to show the Arabs that the Jews waged the same anti-imperialist fight as they.

"Israel's African"

As soon as he was in office, Shamir sent his general director to Africa on a secret mission, but he mumbled excuses and was replaced by someone new: David Kimche.

The latter may be considered as "Israel's African." Deputy director of the Mossad when Shamir, who was his subordinate, called on him, Kimche knows Black Africa well. Among other things, he devoted his doctoral thesis to it. Born in England, he speaks and dresses like an Oxford professor and affects the same horn-rimmed glasses. The No 2 man in Israeli diplomacy, Kimche is the man for delicate missions. It is he who negotiated the Israeli-Lebanese accord and who just got the dialogue with Egypt going again. Very accessible, he has always maintained excellent contacts in Africa where, like Shamir, he carries out many secret missions as the Mossad's agent.

His main weapon is obviously secret diplomacy. His doctrine is very pragmatic: to renew relations with African nations in all fields of interest to them, without demanding the resumption of diplomatic relations. Is that not what a number of African nations wanted after the break in relations in 1973?

Israeli businessmen are quietly going back on the road to Africa. The big industrial and agricultural consortiums belonging to the Histadrut (syndicate), such as Kor and Agridev, and the construction giant Solel Bone have the green light from Jerusalem for resuming activities in Africa. In many cases, it is a question of resuming development projects abandoned in 1973. The government guarantees them against any risk of breaking contracts due to political reasons. Israeli experts in agriculture, construction and also intelligence are gradually returning to Africa.

Knowledge Useful to Africa

Since the needs of the African nations largely exceed its resources, Israel has found an original formula: having turnkey development projects financed by friendly countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden and Holland. Since 1981, the formula followed is simple: Israel supplies the plans and experts and these three countries finance them. Why do the latter accept the scheme? When Israel left Africa after 1973, the Africans sought in Europe the same type of expertise but very often did not find it. Israel is a world expert in certain fields crucial for Africa. This is the case of the fight against the expansion of the desert.

The Desert University in Beersheva has worked out a plan to reconquer the Sahel that was tried in the Neguev and in Africa. Israel, which has always had a water shortage, is also an expert in irrigation, whether it be a matter of systems, of particular interest to Nigeria, which has water but no wells, or drip irrigation methods of interest to the semi-desert countries. Nations such as Togo, Nigeria, Zaire, Ghana or the Ivory Coast benefit from this tripartite cooperation. Even Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and Morocco have had to make the decision to buy Israeli desalinization plants.

High-ranking diplomats have followed experts in all areas. With the rank of charge d'affaires, they are all protected by "friendly" embassies: Canadian, French, Dutch, Swedish, or quite simply occupy the old Israeli embassies. There are six (before official recognition): Kenya, the Ivory Coast, Zaire, Ghana, Liberia and Gabon.

Mediator From Washington

The return of the Israelis coincides with the "impoverishment" of the Arab oil states and especially the disenchantment with "socialist" experiments. The new Mecca of the African nations is Washington, headquarters of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, both closely dependent on the American capital. An American diplomat posted in Tel Aviv recently reported: "When an African president wants to be received by David Rockefeller, he needs pull. The waiting list is a long one." In an America that has other irons in the fire besides Africa, that pull could obviously only come from the Israeli lobby.

Many African leaders complain to Israeli representatives about the difficulties they are experiencing in talking with the Americans. There is a shortcut consisting of asking Israel to use its influence and that of its lobby with the White House and the New York financiers. The Israeli Embassy in Washington organized a trip for Jewish businessmen to encourage them to invest in West Africa. The group stopped off in Paris to meet with African delegations that had gone there for the Vittel Conference.

A certain number of conditions might therefore seem to exist for the final stage: the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel. Guilty of excessive optimism, Menahem Begin told an election meeting in May 1981: "I bring you a great message. The break with Africa is coming to an end." It was a statement that was to irritate Shamir and Kimche greatly, for they were discreetly working toward the Israeli breakthrough in Africa.

An initial secret trip to Africa by Sharon, then minister of agriculture, was canceled by his African hosts following the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear power plant. Not until November 1981 did Sharon, now minister of defense, make his secret trip.

The most important phase was Kinshasa. He knows Mobutu well, for he had trained with the Israeli paratroopers when Sharon commanded them. The Zairian president concealed none of his problems from the Israeli minister: his lack of popularity in the United States, which scarcely appreciated his domestic policies; his problems with domestic security; his fear of Cuban intervention in Angola and Libyan interference in Chad; the needs of his army; and finally, the precarious situation of the Zairian economy. Sharon promised everything provided that Zaire officially renew relations with Israel. Mobutu replied that he saw no major problems.

From then on, the problem in Israel has become not so much a question of knowing whether the African nations will officially renew relations, but who will do it first.

Since Houphouet has temporarily declined, Jerusalem turned to Ghana next. The first disappointment: President Limann, who had promised to do so, was ousted on 1 January 1982 by a pro-Libyan, Lieutenant Rawlings. Four months previously, President Dacko, who had announced his decision to accept an Israeli charge d'affaires in Bangui, was also overthrown by Kolingba.

The same "misfortune" struck in Liberia, which was one of the first nations in the world to recognize Israel in 1948. Despite the break in diplomatic relations, economic ties between Monrovia and Jerusalem remained strong. The presidential palace in Monrovia was built by an Israeli company. Samuel Doe took power in 1979 following a bloody coup d'etat. The first plane to land in Robertville was Libyan. Israel repatriated most of its citizens.

Zaire First

At Sadat's funeral in Cairo on 10 October 1981, Kimche asked Doe if he wanted to meet with Begin. Disappointed by the Libyans, he accepted. It then became obvious that Liberia would not wait long before renewing relations with Israel.

It was finally Zaire that took the first step in Africa in May 1982. In November of the same year, Shamir went to Kinshasa accompanied by a delegation of 85 experts.

While reaffirming his support for the Palestinian cause, Mobutu signed a series of agreements with Israel. It is mainly the military cooperation that attracts attention. Mobutu had already replaced his Moroccan bodyguards with Israelis and advisers from Jerusalem were training the presidential division. "We have bought \$8 million worth of weapons from Israel," he told the special correspondent from the daily MAARIV, Tamar Golan, "in order to equip the presidential division. That is not enough. We have asked the Israelis to reorganize the Kamaniola division stationed in Shaba." At Mobutu's request, Tsahal drafted a 5-year plan to modernize the Zairian Army.

If Mobutu was the first chief of state to renew relations with Israel, Samuel Doe was the first to go to Jerusalem since the 1973 break. In his private meeting with the new Israeli president, Haim Herzog, it was mainly a question of the Libyan threat to the African nations and to Liberia in particular. Doe told his Israeli interlocutors that he had been the victim of an attempted Libyan coup.

Sharon in Ndjamena

Israel was obviously not indifferent to the Libyan intervention. At the prompting of the Americans, it supported Hissein Habre in his fight against Goukouni Oueddei. We can reveal one of the secrets most jealously kept in Israel: On 1 June 1982, Sharon landed incognito in Ndjamena to join with Habre in studying the possibility of a plan to reorganize the Chadian Armed Forces. Sharon was still there on 4 June when the terrorists in the Abu Nidal group fired on the Israeli ambassador to London, Argov. On the evening of the 4th, the Israeli Cabinet decided to bomb Palestinian positions and to invade Lebanon. The war began in the absence of the minister of defense. A complicated air operation had to be put together to get Sharon back from Ndjamena.

As soon as hostilities ended in Lebanon, Israel sent military advisers to Habre that were withdrawn as soon as the Libyan invasion began. On the other hand, in the detachment sent to Ndjamena by Mobutu were a few black Israeli officers wearing the Zairian uniform. But Jerusalem convinced Mobutu to withdraw them for fear that one of them might be taken prisoner and sent to Libya. The "Israelis from Zaire" left Chad as discreetly as they had arrived.

Alongside the countries having no relations with Israel -- Arabized countries such as Somalia or strongly Islamic nations such as Niger or Mali, countries under Soviet-Cuban influence or finally, countries that broke off relations without the Arabs being involved, as in the case of Tanzania or Uganda -- there are those in which the question of the resumption of diplomatic relations is the subject of an internal debate.

At the time of the last election campaign in Nigeria, Chief Awolowo, who is Christian -- unlike Shagari, who is Muslim -- promised, with the support of 100 deputies, to renew relations with Israel if elected. The current president

is clearly anti-Israeli, which does not prevent Nigeria from harboring the largest Israeli colony in Africa equipped with two schools giving instruction in Hebrew.

Only recently, at the beginning of November, Father Muzorewa made a pilgrimage to Israel. He said on television there that Zimbabwe should recognize Israel. He was arrested upon his return and charged with complicity in an Israeli-South African plot against Mugabe. Since that time, Israelis who once entered Zimbabwe freely have had to first obtain entry visas.

Short Honeymoon

The honeymoon between Israel and the African nations lasted from the beginning of the 1960's to the October 1973 war. During that period, Israel sent military and agricultural experts to Africa, to the point of nearly governing a country like Ethiopia. These privileged relations did not withstand the Israeli-Arab war, but the break was foreseeable because in the eyes of many Africans, Israel was too closely linked with the West.

When one looks at the pictures of the 1960's with respect to Israeli-African relations, one can hardly believe one's eyes. Houphouet-Boigny discovers to his astonishment that one can float effortlessly in the waters of the Dead Sea. Golda Meir, then minister of foreign affairs, converses amicably with Jomo Kenyatta. Francois Tombalbaye reviews a guard of honor at the Tel Aviv airport. Amin, in dress uniform with the insignia of the Israeli paratroopers, stands two heads taller than Moshe Dayan. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol is enthusiastically received in Kinshasa by Mobutu.

In the 1960's, Israel maintained diplomatic relations with 21 African nations. The honeymoon was complete. Black Africa had just freed itself from French-British tutelage. Israel had existed for only 12 years. Everything seemed to destine them for close cooperation. The agricultural experiments of the Hebrew state enjoyed immense international prestige: Irrigation techniques, kibbutz and *moshavim* (agricultural cooperatives) seemed well-adapted to the newly independent states. East Africa (Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya), deeply marked by Protestantism, saw in the birth of Israel, at the prompting of American churches, the realization of the divine promise of the rebirth of the Kingdom of David. Even better, socialist Nyerere and the Israeli Laborites spoke the same political language. Did the Tanzanian chief of state not send his wife to take advanced training in community work in Israel?

Israel trained the young air forces of Uganda and Tanzania. Ties between the intelligence services were so strong that in one case, that of Kenya, they survived every test. But the Israeli calling card in Africa is mainly agricultural. Thousands of Israeli experts people the project sites and work on the farms in West and Central Africa: Liberia, Ghana, Central Africa, the Ivory Coast, and so on.

Ethiopia

It is with Ethiopia that Israel formed the closest bonds, to the point that there was even talk of a veritable strategic alliance between the two countries.

The Negus is said to be descended from Menelik I, the son of the Queen of Sheba and King Salomon. The emblem of the Imperial Guard is the Star of David. Haile Selassie did not forget his exile in Jerusalem after Ethiopia was conquered by Mussolini's army in 1936. He was fond of receiving all the future leaders of the Hebrew state at the King David Hotel.

But the main reason for the Israeli-Ethiopian rapprochement has to do with geopolitics. Ethiopia was of interest to Jerusalem because it was the only non-Muslim nation on the Red Sea. For his part, the "Lion of Judah" relied on Israeli support to protect himself from the Somali tribes in Ogaden and Sudanese designs. David Ben Gurion and Haile Selassie therefore had the same objective: to prevent the Red Sea from being turned into an Arab lake.

The Negus therefore opened his country to Israeli technicians, doctors, merchants and agricultural advisers. The Ethiopian police were trained on the Israeli model, including the uniform. By 1957, the Ethiopian Army was entirely under Tsahal, from the smallest combat unit to the staff. Israel set up the Harrare Officers School on the edge of Ogaden. The instructors, all Israelis, opened the establishment to young lycee students from the lower classes, putting an end to the aristocratic monopoly. A certain Mengistu Haile Mariam would be trained at Harrare. The Ethiopian pilots, first trained at Bishoftu near Addis Ababa, were given advanced training in Israel. Israeli officers were assigned to the Ethiopian naval command in Eritrea at the Massawa and Aassab ports.

On 14 December 1960, a radiotelegraphist based in Ethiopia sent a message announcing that a revolt headed by the heads of the Imperial Guard, the police and the intelligence services had just broken out. Haile Selassie was then in Rio de Janeiro. The news was transmitted to him by the Israeli representative in that city. The Emperor returned in haste and landed in Monrovia, where he asked an Israeli diplomat for Jerusalem to get him back to Ethiopia. The request was transmitted to David Ben Gurion at two o'clock in the morning, who immediately agreed. Israeli pilots and instructors then took control of the Asmara Base, where the Negus' plane could land in complete safety. The revolt was quickly put down.

Any service has to be paid for. In 1961, David Ben Gurion sent the King of Kings a thinly disguised ultimatum urging him to officially recognize Israel under "penalty of a reexamination of all relations" between the two countries. A few days later, Samuel Divon was accredited as Israel's first ambassador to the court of Haile Selassie. Since that time, visits by Israeli officials to Ethiopia were stepped up. Yitzhak Rabin and Bar Lev, Tsahal's chiefs of staff, would go to inspect the Ethiopian Army.

At the beginning of 1973, Israel gave Ethiopia a new "gift." Worried by shipments of Soviet arms, including Mig 21's, to Somalia, Haile Selassie could not

get Washington to send him sophisticated weapons. It would take the intervention of the powerful Jewish lobby in the American capital before Addis Ababa would obtain satisfaction.

Anti-Arab Arcs

What motivated Ben Gurion at that time? It is the founder of the Hebrew state who drafted the theory of the strategic skirting of the Arab vice by peripheral alliances with an initial arc including the non-Arab countries in the Near East (Turkey and Iran) and a second arc including Africa and Ethiopia.

The great masters of American diplomacy at the time were the Dulles brothers: John Foster headed the State Department and Allen the CIA. John Foster Dulles, who in 1956 condemned the tripartite French-British-Israeli attack on Egypt was nevertheless to declare later that "neutralism is immoral." Ben Gurion's idea of creating a semi-official alliance between the pro-American regimes in the Near East and Africa pleased him a great deal.

Ben Gurion thus made a secret visit to Ankara in 1958 to meet with Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and lay the foundations for cooperation which, because it is discreet, has never ceased. Israel's ties with the Shah are well-known. Khomeyni was to put an end to any relations with the Zionist "Satan" except in the area of arms, which he needed badly in his bloody war against Iraq.

One can likewise say that by the end of the 1960's, Israel's African policy had been a great success, but contrary to a commonly believed idea, Israeli-African relations did not wait for the October War to begin to deteriorate and for reasons not always directly related to the Israeli-Arab conflict.

One can consider the date of 3 November 1971 as the turning point in the evolution of these relations. On that day, in the Israeli Cabinet room, four African "sages": Houphouet-Boigny, Senghor, Mobutu and Gowen, faced the leaders of the Israeli state. Politely received, they were nevertheless firmly shown to the door. Israel rejected their request to evacuate the occupied territories and told them clearly that it had nothing to do with mediations, emphasizing direct negotiations with the Arabs.

Agent of the West

Closely linked to the United States and Europe, Israel is considered by some Africans as an agent of the West. China, which supplies important aid to Tanzania, managed to have Nyerere break relations with Jerusalem in 1971. He would soon be followed by Idi Amin Dada. Nigeria and Chad did the same in 1971.

At the OAU summit conference in Addis Ababa in May 1973, Anwar Sadat persuaded the most faithful of all Israel's allies, Haile Selassie, to keep aloof from Jerusalem. In June 1973, the Emperor dismissed the 200 Israeli military advisers. But the Negus, like other African chiefs of state, nevertheless asked Israel to continue more limited and especially more discreet military

assistance. To general amazement, the young Marxist officers who overthrew Haile Selassie and who had always considered the Israeli presence as humiliating asked the Hebrew state to increase the number of advisers and the amount of arms shipments. The conflicts in Ogaden and Eritrea risked tearing Ethiopia apart. After Mengistu consolidated his power, Israel found itself in Ethiopia again with such strange partners as the USSR, Libya and South Yemen. Mengistu put an end to an intolerable situation. Israel lost its cherished ally in Africa, but not completely. Even today, there are economic ties between the two countries. In the Israeli press, one can read advertisements for the Ethiopian Airlines, in Hebrew, inviting Jewish tourists to visit the land of the Queen of Sheba! One can only believe that great loves never die completely.

Israel-South Africa

On 20 February 1980, the famous American newscaster Walter Cronkite had a scoop for CBS viewers. Israel and South Africa had reportedly carried out a nuclear test off the coast of South Africa six months previously. According to Cronkite, American tracking stations had allegedly picked up the test.

Israel and South Africa's spontaneous reactions were identical: "absolute nonsense, absurd." But the American press did not give up: It placed Israel in sixth place among the atomic powers after the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China. The first Israeli atomic bomb was said to be developed by 1966 with the cooperation of South Africa. For 13 years, Israel had refrained from testing it. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol reportedly refused an initial South African offer to test it on its territory.

Ambiguous Exchanges

Nuclear cooperation between the two countries dates from the 1950's, when Israel was still benefiting from French atomic cooperation. South Africa supplied Israel with the uranium needed for its reactor in Dimona, while Israel in exchange passed on to Pretoria the advanced techniques it needed for its own atomic program. There were reportedly also regular exchanges of specialists between the two countries' atomic research institutes.

Exchanges between the two countries are very ambiguous. With a large Jewish community in South Africa, Israel was forced from the very beginning to maintain correct ties with Pretoria and no more. A reflection of the attitude of a people haunted by Nazi persecution, many Israelis are shocked to see their government deal with a country that practices apartheid and that does not hide its old sympathies for Hitler's Germany.

To justify their action, Israeli officials explain that Israel's fragile economic situation does not allow it to neglect any opening, no matter what regime offers it. In the official position, there is also an echo of the theme: If other countries are allowed to have relations with Pretoria, why should we be prohibited from doing so? As former diplomat Haim Herzog, now president, said on 12 January 1967: "Why should Israel boycott South Africa when France continues to supply tanks and planes to Pretoria without endangering its influence in Black Africa?"

Commercial trade is carried on openly: Israel imports diamonds, coal and raw materials. On the other hand, the Israeli press is very discreet about sales of military equipment. South Africa sells Israel a special steel that enables it to make the armor for its Merkava tank, while Israel sells Pretoria warships equipped with Gabriel missiles. The trade balance is clearly tipped in favor of South Africa.

Jerusalem is aware of the problems posed by relations with South Africa. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir does not hide his anger when details are published concerning those ties. After the diplomatic break with African nations in 1973, official Israeli circles, considering they had nothing more to lose, tightened their bonds with Pretoria. Will the renewal of relations with Black Africa persuade Jerusalem to keep at a distance from the regime of apartheid?

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GOALS, RESULTS OF GUINEA-BISSAU SUMMIT ANALYZED

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 24 Dec 83 pp 1, 14

[Commentary by Augusto de Carvalho]

[Text] Bissau--The fourth summit meeting of chiefs of state from the five African countries where Portuguese is the official language ended in Bissau on Tuesday. It demonstrated the existence on the continent of a cohesive group that is determined to make itself heard in international assemblies, where its members will present the same view of problems. That view was already being expressed with some vigor at this summit meeting. At the formal closing ceremony, which was attended by the entire diplomatic corps accredited to the capital of Guinea-Bissau, there was also demonstrated the determination of the group--which has now been in existence for 4 years--to pursue joint cooperation programs in the most widely varying spheres.

Also meeting in Bissau in addition to the chiefs of state of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe were the respective ministers on the Coordinating Commission (the conference's deliberating body between summit meetings) and the experts on the five subcommissions--those on transportation; law, justice and administration; cadre training; trade; and banking and insurance. Each of those subcommissions is headed by one of the participating countries.

The summit meeting consisted of 5.5 days of intensive work to evaluate what had been done since last year's meeting in Praia, Cape Verde and to outline plans for the future up to the 1984 summit meeting, which will be held in Sao Tome.

Nino Vieira and the Conference

Analysis of this summit meeting requires that we look at four different but converging aspects of it: 1) the group itself; 2) the group in the African context in particular and the international context in general; 3) its development; and 4) the role of Guinea-Bissau and Nino Vieira in the context of the group. Let us begin with the last of those.

Nino Vieira, who, as expected, was elected chairman of the conference for next year, heard public words of esteem from all the chiefs of state present. Especially significant were those spoken by Aristides Pereira, president of Cape

Verde, who was visiting Bissau for the first time since Nino's coup d'etat in 1980, which shattered the political unity between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The people of Guinea-Bissau welcomed him with demonstrations of friendship, respect, and affection, and when the two presidents embraced and praised each other, ardent cheers for Cape Verde were heard.

It should be recalled that while relations exist between the states of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, they have been broken off at the party level. According to the Cape Verdians--who, 2 months after the coup of November 1980 in Guinea-Bissau, established the PAICV (African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde), a branch of the former PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), in their country--relations between the parties cannot be restored as long as the party in Bissau is using the acronym PAIGC.

Another important victory for Nino Vieira was the thaw in relations with the Angolans--always on their guard against Bissau because they disapprove of resolving political issues by means of a coup d'etat. For that reason, and on government orders, the Angolan press had reduced to a minimum its news reports on Guinea-Bissau, a country that now occupies a prominent place in that same press.

The "readjustment" of 14 November, as it is called here (it was headed by the current president of the Council of the Revolution, Gen Joao Bernardo (Nino) Vieira) has ceased to be a problem within the group. The only one who had taken a different stance before was Samora Machel, who after the coup had engaged in a great many contacts--both directly and through messengers--to preserve cohesiveness in the group that had grown out of the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies, an organization established in the 1950's and comprising all the colonies of that time).

Without pulling away from Cape Verde, Machel tried from the very start to see the nature of the coup as being that of a violent blooming of nationalism in a people wanting to build its own history on the basis of its own cultural roots. Although the coup in itself did not please him, he felt in his heart a great liking for his old comrade in the struggle, Nino Vieira, the legendary hero of the land of Guinea-Bissau.

Samora Machel was undoubtedly the most applauded leader in Bissau, and this was also due to his natural ability to quickly establish a rapport with the people.

After the summit meeting, it can be said that the group no longer has any psychological problems with respect to Nino Vieira, who did everything possible to welcome the delegations, those with them, and the reporters as they deserved. And considering the shortage of funds in Guinea-Bissau, God only knows that sacrifices were required to do so.

Group Itself

"We are a group without a father," commented Samora Machel to the reporters who were in Bissau to cover the summit meeting and whom he had invited to a breakfast.

If there were a father, it would be the Portuguese. Jaime Gama--following in the footsteps of Mario Soares, incidentally--has been trying to bring that very thing about, as was emphasized to us here. But perhaps it would be appropriate to look into the true nature of the group to avoid making mistakes or drawing hasty conclusions. The peoples in the former colonies feel great friendship and even affection for the Portuguese people. They want cooperation with Portugal to increase, but on equal terms, without paternalism.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, said: "It was political principles and shared practice which united us in the CONCP, not just language or the color of our skin." This group is, so to speak, the continuation of the CONCP.

Victor Saude Maria, prime minister of Guinea-Bissau, told EXPRESSO: "Anyone who thinks we meet together because we speak the same language is mistaken."

In his closing speech, Nino Vieira also emphasized: "The solid character of our dialogue is based on the political strength of our analyses and options because, as we have emphasized innumerable times, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe form a single family, born of the struggle against the common enemy and of the convergence of the plans for society for which our peoples are struggling. As a result, the platform for coordination among our states is determined essentially in terms of the political stands we have taken and cemented by what we have in common as a community and culturally."

That sense of fellowship--forged in a shared history and made clear in the final declaration of this fourth conference--is also felt when one is in close contact with the delegations that mingle in the intervals between working sessions. At those times, they recall the episodes that they have experienced together. It is also felt in the identity of political and ideological viewpoints that leads those same delegations to talk about militant solidarity.

Meetings

Paulo Jorge, Angolan minister of foreign affairs, told us: "There is no doubt that we have progressed tremendously in the past year because of the work of the subcommissions."

But is it not true that the group is simply a collection of good will that operates mainly on the political level--as a kind of bloc possessing a certain degree of ideological cohesiveness? "No," was Paulo Jorge's answer. "We are speaking frankly, with no prejudices of any kind, so as to learn each other's needs, explore paths, and outline plans. In the presence of each other, we discover our potentialities and shortcomings to see what we can do together. And we speak without fear."

The mentors of these meetings are old comrades who were even associated with each other to some extent at the start of the struggle. Paulo Jorge asked us: "Did you know that Amilcar Cabral was one of the founders of the MPLA?" That was back in the far-off days of the CONCP and the House of the Students of the

Empire, where, for example, Paulo Jorge himself (a student in chemical engineering) and Joaquim Chissano (also at the Technical School) were together and, before them, Amilcar Cabral and Marcelino dos Santos and so many others. It was Amilcar Cabral who thrust Agostinho Neto into the problems of Angola--he who for a time in the beginning had been more closely involved with the Portuguese Communist Party and its objectives.

Jaime Gama: Tactlessness

From what we could gather from the participants in the summit meeting, Jaime Gama's proposals (see last week's EXPRESSO) rubbed the group the wrong way.

"How would it be possible for Portugal to be a full member of summit meetings of this kind and discuss Angola's and Mozambique's problems in the same spirit as all the others? Not to take it any further, how would it be possible to hold interparliamentary meetings when these five countries have single-party regimes and Portugal has a pluralistic regime in the fullest meaning of that expression?" Those were among the questions put to us in Bissau.

The cool reception given to Jaime Gama's proposals does not in any way mean, however, that the five countries do not want privileged cooperation with Portugal. But there is no doubt that the official Portuguese policy on East Timor and Angola sticks in the throats of the five African countries in which Portuguese is the official language.

In an informal talk, the Angolan minister of foreign affairs told us: "UNITA, which holds Portuguese in prison, makes announcements in Lisbon using paper embossed with its address and everything, and the government takes no action against those gentlemen, to whom it grants de facto recognition."

Concerning East Timor--which was represented here by a guest delegation from FRETILIN [Revolutionary Front for East Timor Independence], whose viewpoints were supported by the group--we were told by Abilio de Araujo (of FRETILIN) on the subject of actions by the Portuguese Government: "Not only did we encounter closed doors, but also, deplorably, we learned of statements by Portuguese government officials that question FRETILIN's seriousness and its dedication to the cause of the people." And he added: "We also learned that the Portuguese Government felt left out because FRETILIN negotiated with Indonesia and ignored Portugal. We continue to say that that is completely false because there were never any negotiations."

On that point, the summit meeting in Bissau included in its conclusions "an appeal to the secretary general of the United Nations to carry out the mandate granted to him at the 37th session of the General Assembly" and urged "the Portuguese Government to assume its full historical, political, and legal responsibility with respect to the issue of East Timor so as to find the just solution to the conflict in cooperation with FRETILIN."

That is in fact a point of friction. The summit meeting accepted FRETILIN as an invited guest, whereas, according to FRETILIN's representatives, FRETILIN is

being ignored completely by the Portuguese Government, including its minister of foreign affairs, who did not even deign to meet with them.

Plans: Many and Ambitious

The group's plans for the coming year are many and ambitious. The airline operators of the five countries will meet in Maputo during the last half of February, and, also in the field of transportation, questions relative to vocational training, technical cooperation, and the harmonization of legislation will be examined closely, while ocean transportation among the five countries will also be studied.

The five countries are going to sign cultural and scientific-technical cooperation agreements, and in that connection, each of them has already made specific proposals concerning the granting of scholarships in specified fields. The task force on industrial training will also be dynamized, and the hope is that support will be obtained from IDO (UN Industrial Development Organization) for the purpose. In the field of insurance, there are plans for the exchange of annual plans for training and the presentation of new plans and studies on new forms of reinsurance.

As we reported last week, there will not only be joint action in international financial markets, but also emphasis on the project now underway to establish a joint financial organization. The preliminary study, which is to be presented in March 1984, will be prepared by the NIEO. That enterprise, which is headed in Portugal by Gen Franco Charais, has some of the five countries as partners. Meanwhile, the appropriate task force is to draw up a report for presentation in May 1984 with specific proposals for the establishment of a joint bank.

The five countries feel that by working together in international markets, they can obtain greater advantages, as happens already, for example, in the sector of ocean shipping, where a substantial reduction in costs is achieved by that means.

ANC the Focal Point

In the field of joint foreign policy, the theses are already known. But outside the conference, the Angolan minister of foreign affairs told us that the recent South African proposals concerning the withdrawal from Angola are simply a diversionary tactic. Paulo Jorge even suspects that somewhere behind it is the finger of the United States, which is visibly embarrassed by the request for a meeting by the Security Council. If it supports Pretoria or abstains, Washington will be unmasking itself. On the other hand, the Angolan leaders feel that since South Africa does not have a seat in the UN, it needs to play for time and postpone the problem so as to save the United States, its best ally, from embarrassment.

On the day that the conference ended, the Mozambican president told reporters that at that precise moment--at 9 o'clock Tuesday morning--Mozambique was conducting high-level negotiations with South Africa in Swaziland. He said: "We

want to ask you--and we have already said this to the Americans as well--what do you suggest that we do with the 3,500 bandits we have captured? Do you want us to send them back to South Africa? Shall we kill them--the same ones who are murdering our people? How can we, in the midst of the difficulties afflicting us, go about feeding them and giving them medical care?"

Samora Machel also said that he had invited Amnesty International to visit Mozambique and find out who is respecting human rights.

Again on the subject of the negotiations with Pretoria, Machel said that peace in the region was the topic, but that the South Africans must not think that the Mozambicans will in any way support or legitimize apartheid. Discussing the ANC, Machel emphasized that it is necessary to study the ANC's history, which goes back much farther than the independence of Mozambique, and he pointed out that the chairman of that organization, Nelson Mandela, has been a prisoner for almost 20 years. He asked in an ironic tone: "Could this mean that back in those days, the ANC had bases in a Mozambique colonized by the Portuguese?"

In that connection, the summit meeting in Bissau reiterated "its unconditional solidarity with the just struggle by the South African people under the leadership of the ANC, their sole and legitimate representative, and it warmly hailed the intensification of the struggle to eliminate the system of apartheid and build a democratic society of social justice."

Concerning his visit to Portugal and the West, Samora Machel said that his talks in London with the publishers of several newspapers had helped Westerners see that those who are in Mozambique are the Mozambicans, not the Russians, as some people want to make us believe. "We are not the clients of anybody."

Concerning the line of credit to be obtained from Portugal, Machel told Portuguese reporters that his visit was a 100-percent success. He had gone to Lisbon to repay the visit by Ramalho Eanes and the later visit by Pinto Balsemao and to contact businessmen and the people. "I did not go to beg for anything. I do not beg. I only want cooperation, but with mutual advantages. Alms cause humiliation. The Portuguese people understood me."

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CEAO PROCEEDINGS IN NIAMEY EXAMINED

Dakar AFRICA in French Dec 83 pp 27-29

[Article by N. X. Ebony: "The CEAO: What Happened in Niamey?"]

[Text] Rarely is a crisis not followed by another if it has not given rise to reciprocal reflection in which political and economic considerations shed light on one another.

At the Ninth Summit Conference of the CEAO in Niamey (28-31 October), the crisis that has shaken even reputedly stable African economies has had the effect of rekindling solidarity among member nations.

The national tribulations of the past 10 years have sometimes been so great that various individual and not exclusively political characteristics sometimes managed to substitute their dubious priority for that mystical union. While the recent meeting may have been a battle, it was nevertheless won by maturity. Confronted with the temptation to yield to conflict, economic factors still prevailed. By granting a substantial subsidy of 800 million CFA francs to members suffering from the drought so that they might rebuild their livestock herds, the subregional organization marked time. "Its first decision," in fact, "in the face of the multiple economic difficulties was to establish and develop cooperation in order to utilize every possibility of ensuring the general well-being of our people."

In so stating, Moussa Ngom, general secretary of the CEAO, recalled the objectives assigned by its member nations (the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Senegal, Mali, Togo and an observer, Benin) to the organization and introduced indirectly into a balance sheet he knows is provisional, like the scarcely defined record of two decades of promises, many of them unkept.

Has that "well-being" of our peoples, the leitmotiv of all the great televised proclamations, been, here or elsewhere, an opportunity to promote a real economic integration of the major mainly rural forces or an excuse for those interminable get-togethers which one jokester called "self-centered development"?

Major Assets

The memorable address of one of the summit elders -- highly unusual for such a conference -- and about which all participants were buzzing was aimed quite precisely at that curious insatiableness which rarely takes the successful outcome of the effort for its goal and seems to be but an alibi for the technocratic vacuum.

The argument of the world crisis cannot always be used to justify the fact that so few accomplishments can be added to the scoresheets of our countries, especially when one realizes that having started to limp toward economic emancipation, mere brotherhood would command us to lend a sympathetic ear to the most benign warnings.

"Confronted with such a situation," Seyni Kountche said at the Yamoussoukro Summit Conference, "one might be tempted to yield to discouragement or resignation, if it were not for the major assets we have in facing such a challenge, especially in our subregions. Those assets first of all include that trusting, active solidarity that so fortunately exists between our countries and which we have made into the very fabric of our action and the watchword of our approach. That solidarity is all the stronger and alive because it derives its legitimacy from the oft-expressed political determination and the physical, social and cultural factors that bring our countries and peoples closer together each day."

Anxious to protect the CEAO from further wandering, the chiefs of state came out in favor of a "judicious policy of investments" which must henceforth be made, on the recommendation of the board of directors, on the basis of criteria of profitability and maximum security with financial institutions of the member states and with major financial institutions of international fame, in the case of investments abroad.

Succession

Chiefs of state at the Ninth Summit Conference met behind closed doors, as is proper, in order to come to an agreement on the proposals of their ministers and other matters under their sovereign competency.

They therefore had to consult with one another in order to appoint the one among them who would preside over the fate of the organization for the coming fiscal year.

As soon as it was learned that this point on the agenda had been taken up, rumors began to circulate concerning a serious crisis among the chiefs of state over the presidency.

Such a rumor seemed unfounded because of the simple fact that the order of succession seemed to have been settled once and for all last year, at the Yamoussoukro Summit Conference, when only the criterion of availability was retained at the expense of the traditional automatic rotation, which had demonstrated that the exercise of the largely honorary duties was not incompatible with youth in the office.

But the atmosphere of tension characteristic of African meetings at this level, usually tainted by the odor of suspicion because of the defiance -- now erected into a system -- in the still awkward relations with the press, sustains our fondness for quarreling over a taste for understanding.

Consequently, on this occasion, the only two partners who might offer the traits suited to dramatization, the only two who would present to the crowd the aspects of easy conflict, were soon pitted against one another: the "wise old man" against the "young revolutionary," the rich Ivorian" against the "poor Upper Voltan," the "dashing paratrooper" against the "seasoned politician," in short, Qadhdhafi's Islamic hordes against the supporters of the Christian West.

Has anyone else noticed that the poorest films are the ones most frequently shown?

No one will ever know the real story of this quarrel that we prefer to believe was invented, of the division we know is factitious. None of the chiefs of state, more attached to the letter of the secret than to its spirit, has confirmed the rumors. Whatever the case, no one in this case pitted the Muslim against the Christian since the two alleged protagonists share the same faith, to the great chagrin of a group of friends who only like to see Africa torn in this fashion.

Or in the end, did prudence win out in ignoring the desire for recognition of the newcomer who, at the table in Niamey, was not the least legitimate of the five military men in the septemvirate, or in entrusting the task to Moussa Traore, who probably did not need it for his public credibility as much as his junior colleague did? One presumes that the latter would have taken advantage of the trust bestowed upon him by his elders for political purposes, thus sparing him the use of arms to which recourse is unfortunately often had when power stems from "events," as is now becoming the worrisome rule in changes of government.

History has provided posterity with no example of true peace without true democracy.

Whence the fact that a crisis rarely comes alone. One must perhaps sometimes wonder whether in medium-range terms, political freedom is not to the economy what good soil is to the seed.

Three Summit Conferences in One

From 26 to 31 October, three conferences were held in Niamey, the capital of Niger: that of the West African Economic Community (CEAO), that of the Non-aggression and Defense Assistance Accord (ANAD) and that of the West African Monetary Union (UMOA), three institutions seeking unity.

With respect to the results of the CEAO summit conference, it decided to grant a subsidy of 800 million CFA francs to members suffering from the drought, a sum to be deduced from proceeds of investment in the Fund for

Solidarity and Intervention for Community Development (FOSIDEC). The capital of this fund was set at 1 billion CFA francs for 1984.

The conference decided to grant initial advances in the amount of 10 percent of the sum of transactions in order to speed up completion of the village and rural waterworks program, the different national aspects of which are underway.

The conference passed the proposed community company to make railroad cars, with the main office in Bobo-Dioulasso in Upper Volta. In order to assure the company of maximum profitability, a special subsidiary will be set up in Dakar (Senegal). The Ivory Coast will serve as project foreman.

Constituent agreements for the African Center for Advanced Management Training (CESAG) in Dakar (Senegal), the Advanced Textile Industries School (ESITEX) in Segou (Mali), the Advanced Institute of Marine Sciences and Techniques in Mouadhibou (Mauritania) and the Regional Solar Energy Center in Bamako (Mali) were approved by the conference. These institutions will be open to all West African nations.

President Moussa Traore of Mali was appointed acting president of the CEAO, replacing President Seyni Kountche of Niger.

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COMMENT ON MOZAMBIQUE-SOUTH AFRICA CONTACTS IN MBABANE

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 24 Dec 83 p 14

[Commentary by Alves Gomes]

[Text] Maputo--A meeting between Mozambican President Samora Machel and South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha in the near future was recently being regarded as a certainty, but government sources in Mozambique told EXPRESSO this week that it "will not be possible in the immediate future," despite the high-level contacts this week between government officials from the two countries.

According to those sources, the matter was not even on the agenda for Tuesday's meeting in Mbabane, the capital of Swaziland, and the Mozambican chief of state has reportedly communicated that decision to an envoy from the Office of the President of the Portuguese Republic and to U.S. emissaries.

Western observers and diplomats in the Mozambican capital told EXPRESSO that the meeting between officials of the two countries was a success, and one of them, who had closely followed the preparations for the meeting, emphasized that "Mbabane keeps the door open for a way out of a general confrontation in southern Africa."

The main participants in the meeting were Roelof "Pik" Botha, South African minister of foreign affairs and information, and the Mozambican minister of state for economic affairs, Jacinto Veloso.

But attention should be drawn to an unprecedented presence on the South African side in contacts of this kind (earlier meetings were held in December 1982 and May 1983, both times in Komatipoort on the frontier between the two countries). That new representative was Minister of Defense Magnus Malan, regarded as one of the most extreme hardliners in the current South African Government. He was accompanied by Minister of Interior Louis Le Grange, who was taking part in these discussions for the second time. At Jacinto Veloso's side were Minister of Justice Oscar Monteiro and Sergio Vieira, governor of Niassa Province.

Although Mozambique had let it be known through intermediaries that it would not discuss its diplomatic support for South Africa's ANC, the issue was again the basic topic at the meeting, with Pretoria accusing Maputo of "closing its eyes" to that liberation movement's activities in Mozambican territory.

U.S. sources, who assumed the role of chief intermediary in preparations for the meeting in Mbabane, said that the South Africans are continuing to demand a clear stand by Mozambique concerning the withdrawal of its support for the ANC, control over possible movements by the ANC, and the establishment of regular contacts for the exchange of information between the security services of the two countries. Those same proposals had been made earlier to Zimbabwe.

For their part, and according to the same sources, the Mozambicans are demanding that South Africa stop involving itself materially and physically in armed actions by the MNR (Mozambique National Resistance). They are also reaffirming their moral and diplomatic support for a movement that "has been in existence for 70 years." (On this subject, see the Mozambican president's remarks to EXPRESSO's correspondent in Bissau, reported elsewhere in this issue.)

United States the Mediator

The United States, whose representatives are playing the most active role in breaking up the current correlation of forces in the region, feels that "the rules of the game have not yet been defined." And the British, who are also keeping a close watch on developments in connection with the contacts, say that "a great step forward" would be taken if Pretoria could be persuaded to replace "its attacks across the borders with a policy of constructive talks across the borders."

The fact that Mozambique has "proven that ANC bases do not exist in its territory" and that Zimbabwe, for its part, has no such bases and maintains aloof relations with the ANC has led the Americans and British to exert increasing pressure on Pretoria. It should be mentioned that on the same day as the meeting in Mbabane, the United States abstained from the UN Security Council vote on a resolution condemning South African attacks on Angola.

Mozambicans and Angolans have been cooperating to some extent with U.S. diplomats, and although there are still obstacles to the conclusion of a peace agreement in the region, there are multilateral intentions to reduce the tension and instability in the area. That, for example, would be the precondition for improved relations between Maputo and Pretoria, and Western diplomats recently discussed the possibility that South Africa might purchase the natural gas that will soon be extracted in southern Mozambique thanks to some U.S. investments.

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PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES ELECT NEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN CUANZA-NORTE, UIGE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] The second Party Provincial Conference, which opened on the 18th of this month, recently adjourned with the election of a new Party Provincial Committee consisting of 25 regular members and 5 alternates. Noe da Silva Saude, reelected during the session, will serve as coordinator.

The presiding officer of the closing session was Roberto de Almeida, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party for the Ideological Sphere, who likewise directed the conference.

The participants in the conference discussed and approved, among other matters, the report of the retiring Provincial Committee.

Finally, a people's rally was held in First of May Square, during which Roberto de Almeida introduced the new party management board to the people of N'Dalatondo, who represented the entire province of Cuanza-Norte.

After presenting a panoramic view of the activities that will be developed by the new Party Committee, Roberto de Almeida pointed out that the work of the party can be crowned with success only if it has the appropriate help and support of the people.

"The conferences that have been held throughout the country to bring the sincere elements of our society together in its bosom examined the work accomplished in the last few years as it opened up new prospects for the destiny of the nation," the Secretary of the Central Committee declared emphatically as he appealed to the provincial managers of the Party to study the documents. Roberto de Almeida also said that the political and cultural good of the party members must be the constant concern of each one of them.

Speaking of the politico-military situation of the country, the manager said specifically that the regular forces of South Africa and other mercenaries financed by imperialism continue their attacks and their support of the puppet gangs.

Uige Party Conference Adjourn with Election of New Managing Board

A new Party Provincial Committee of 29 regular members and 6 alternates, a provincial commission of control and an executive commission were elected yesterday (Wednesday) during the second party conference in Uige.

The presiding officer of the closing session was Bernardo de Sousa, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, who congratulated the newly elected Provincial Committee and praised the retiring committee.

Bernardo de Sousa asked the newly elected members to make progressively greater efforts to reinforce the structures of the party and the defense of the country.

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RESULTS OF JMPLA PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE REPORTED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Hortencio Sebastiao]

[Text]

Provincial Conference for Inspection of Party Youth Adjourns

The adjournment of the Second Provincial Assembly for the Inspection of the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party Youth, took place in the city of Namibi last Wednesday, from 20 to 21 December under the direction of Angela Braganca, Second National Secretary for the Organizational Sphere.

The Assembly, in which 79 delegates from all the municipalities of the province participated, elected the new Committee consisting of 29 regular members and 4 alternates and the Control and Review Commission. The body likewise approved the report of the retiring Provincial Committee, confirming the effort put forth by all the managers and cadres of the organization in the development of the countless tasks assigned them.

The participants in the Assembly also confirmed the need to give more attention to the grass-roots, the municipal committees and secretariats as well as to supervise the level of the politico-ideological and cultural training of the members.

To improve the organization of the work with the student contingent, the Assembly referred the structures in charge of chaperonage and control to the High School Students' Association (AAEM).

The Assembly recommended further that greater efforts be made to develop activities that will occupy the young people in their free time, suggesting for this purpose greater coordination with the sports and cultural structures in the province.

The participants finally agreed that there is need for a closer liaison among the Party Youth Organization, the OMA [Organization of Angolan Women] and the government structures with an eye to improving conditions in children's homes and in boarding schools.

The coordinator for the Department of Economic and Social Development of the Party Provincial Committee, Joaquim Malheiros, delivered the adjournment address, in which he made reference to the work accomplished by the Youth Organization, which he described as positive, later stating that greater responsibility must be assumed in the area of the mobilization and adaptation of the young people for the tasks of defense, production and study.

In closing, the coordinator congratulated the new roster of the Organization and wished them success in the execution of their never-ending tasks.

8089

CSO: 3442/121

FISHING INDUSTRIES EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTIES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] There continues to be a low catch index in the fishing sector, caused by factors affecting the supplying of equipment of a technical and material nature needed to update the poor and ailing condition of the boats, which is reducing operations of the fishing fleet by 50 percent. So states the report of the Party Provincial Committee presented at the Second Provincial Conference.

According to indications made in the report, there are inadequacies prevailing in the processing of frozen, dried, half-cured and canned fish, a fact which is responsible for a considerable shortfall in the distribution process anticipated in the plan set up to minimize the needs of the people that are subject to the provisions of the plan.

Further, with regard to salt production, it was observed that the quantities produced are small and that the production rate falls far below the capacities of the installations, leading to the suggestion that production can be increased by putting the existing salt mines back into operation.

The document also reports that in the last two years steps have been taken to restore to operation the production centers of SOMAR [expansion unknown] in the headquarters municipality and the Ngola Kiluanji units, as well as the Atlantico freezer plant in the municipality of Tombua.

As regards the restoration of the ARAN [expansion unknown], Fighting Angola, units, financing has been granted by the European Economic Community (EEC) for the construction of a can factory in the Ngola Kiluanji unit.

The enterprises in this sector are in an embarrassing financial situation due to the conditions described above as well as to the fact that they are not prompt in the payment of debts incurred among the enterprises of the sector, which results in considerable delays in the payment of the workers' salaries.

The report lays special emphasis on the fact that insufficient shelter is provided and likewise that the food supply for the fishermen is deficient, particularly in the municipality of Tombua, which is crying aloud for special attention.

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CSO: 3442/121

NEW PARTY PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE ELECTED IN BIE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] The Second Provincial Party Committee of Bie, which met in the city of Kuito from the 19th to the 20th of this month, elected a new Party Provincial Committee and a Provincial Control Commission, consisting respectively of 20 regular members and 4 alternates for the former and 4 members for the latter.

The conference, whose work was directed by Joao Ernesto dos Santos (Liberdade), a member of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Regional Military Committee for the Fourth Region, approved the reports of the Party Committee and the Provincial Control Commission, as well as the document on the objectives outlined for the new mandate in the political, military, organizational and socio-economic domains.

At the closing session held recently, Ernesto dos Santos said that the selection of the party cadres must conform to ideological criteria that will permit their inclusion in the board of managers, with the advance admonition that the Party is in need of managers whose ambition is not to enrich themselves through various means in the name of the people.

He strongly emphasized that an individual's personal qualities and conduct must be taken into consideration in the selection of the party managers and the nature of the work they will have to perform.

Further, the new roster of party managers was introduced to the people of Kuito on Thursday during a rally presided over by Joao Ernesto dos Santos, who stated that the new members of the Provincial Committee will have to be capable of living in close relationship with the masses and of helping them with their problems, for "the masses are the point of departure and arrival of all party actions."

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CSO: 3442/122

KUNDI PAYAMA VISITS CUANZA-SUL

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] Kundi Payama, chairman of the Military Council of the Seventh Region, paid a quick visit on Tuesday to Sumbe, capital of the province of Cuanza-Sul.

Kundi Payama was received on his arrival by Ramos da Cruz, who is also a member of the Military Council of the region and Provincial Commissioner of Cuanza-Sul, and then joined him later.

It should be recalled that last October the chairman of the Military Council of the Seventh Region paid a lengthy visit to this province, which took him successively to the municipalities of Sumbe, Amboim, Kibala and Wako-Kungo, headquarters of the Seventh Region.

The Seventh Region includes the provinces of Benguela and Cuanza-Sul.

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CSO: 3442/122

MPLA SENDS MESSAGE OF GREETING TO INTERNATIONALIST CUBANS IN COUNTRY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 24 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The Angolan Press Agency (ANGOP) yesterday published a message addressed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party to the Cuban internationalist collaborators, the content of which is as follows:

"The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party recognizes with the greatest respect the important work being done in connection with the program of national reconstruction and the on-going revolutionary process in the People's Republic of Angola by the Cuban civilian and military collaborators with an exemplary attitude of militant solidarity."

"We are pleased to point out that party and governmental cooperation are being increasingly reinforced as are likewise the relations between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba, on the basis of proletarian internationalism."

"In fact, it must be emphasized as well that the violent and barbaric assault being made by the racist forces of South Africa, the spearhead of imperialism in this section of the African continent, has been confronted and repulsed by the combined forces deployed on all battle fronts by the Angolan and Cuban fighters, who are giving the world a lesson in courage and dignity that cannot be matched."

"At a time when the imperialist forces are making every effort to create new focal points of tension for the obvious purpose of provoking a direct confrontation with the countries that love peace and justice, the MPLA-Labor Party is convinced that only close solidarity among the revolutionaries of the entire world will contribute to the unmasking and isolation of the imperialist monster, whose aggressive and inhumane character has been exhibited in Grenada, Lebanon, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other countries of the world."

"The Political Bureau of the MPLA-Labor Party greets with revolutionary warmth and takes advantage of this occasion to express its complete gratitude for the gesture of dedication to the Angolan revolutionary process made by Camilo Cienfuegos and Che Guevara."

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CSO: 3442/122

DAMAGE TO ECONOMY FROM GUERRILLA ACTIONS DETAILED

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 23 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Manuel Dionisio, ANOP correspondent in Luanda]

[Text] A gloomy picture of today's Angola is given by the Luanda correspondent of ANOP [Portuguese News Agency], Manuel Dionisio, who writes of the roads that have been mined, the bridges that have been destroyed, the high-voltage transmission lines that have been cut, the rails that have been twisted, the hydroelectric complexes that have been paralyzed, the planted fields that have been burned, the vehicles that have been disabled, and the critical situation that exists in the economic and social sectors.

In Manuel Dionisio's story, however, the reader will find a persistent effort to place responsibility for this situation solely on South Africa--in other words, to have South Africa appear to be in sole charge of the war against Angola. He will not, however, find a single word of criticism of the gross errors committed by the MPLA and the Angolan Government--whose initiatives are portrayed as being in a sense unofficial in nature--nor any criticism of the presence of Cuban occupation forces, who are primarily responsible for the exhaustion of Angola's resources.

The fact is, however, that Manuel Dionisio--if he plans to continue to work in Angola--could not portray the situation in any other manner without running a serious risk of expulsion. His report (which we herewith publish in full) should therefore be interpreted in this light.

"Mined roads, destroyed bridges, severed high-voltage transmission lines, twisted rails, paralyzed hydroelectric complexes, burned fields, disabled vehicles"--these are the results of the war being waged against Angola by South Africa.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was emphasizing--just recently--that the losses caused by the South African acts of aggression (which were initiated before independence) have now reached the sum of more than 10 billion dollars.

This sum is growing daily, both as a result of the expanding activities of UNITA and as a result of the continuing South African presence in a vast area of southern Angola, backed by enormous financial resources.

It will not be easy to compute the principal damage that this new phase of the war is doing to Angola's economy--namely, the partial paralyzation of freight traffic.

This new phase of the war consists of the deep penetration of small units of UNITA--probably under the command of mercenaries--that have great mobility and are specialized in sabotage.

One of the priority targets has been the railways. The Benguela Railroad--which crosses the country from the coast to the eastern border--has never been 100 percent operational since independence. However, the acts of sabotage are now being extended also to the Malange Railway in the north and to the Mocamedes Railway in the south.

On the main highways, civilian transport vehicles are systematically ambushed with the objective of impeding the distribution of fuels as well as impeding the shipment of agricultural products to the cities and industrial articles to the rural areas.

Moreover, highways are frequently mined and major bridges destroyed.

These attacks on the means of communication are designed to increase the isolation of certain regions from other regions--all of which serves to intensify shortages and impede shipment of the farmers' products and is exploited by rebel propaganda to discredit the government.

Dams and high-voltage transmission lines have not been spared, and the country is so large that defending these objectives is virtually impossible. Interruption of the supply of energy makes it difficult for industry to function and complicates life in the urban centers, and in this way makes the presence of the antigovernment guerrilla forces felt.

In short, the economic and social sectors are the ones facing the most critical situation in the difficult times through which Angola is passing, with the war consuming material resources and human lives in a country which from the outset has suffered a shortage of cadres.

The government's response was slow in coming but is now being felt, in the effort being made to combat these attempts to destroy the Angolan regime by strangling its economy.

The Angolan Government has made great efforts to remedy serious shortages in the supply of provisions to the people.

It has been confronted with chronic deficits in many state-owned economic units, and to this end has prioritized its enterprises and corrected budgetary deviations.

It has promulgated an emergency economic plan, in response to the intensification of the war in various regions of the country.

In declaring the economic state of emergency, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos immediately identified those sectors that required more energetic governmental action--action that can be described as a rational utilization of existing resources and particularly of resources in the form of foreign exchange.

More recently, Jose Eduardo dos Santos pointed to the urgent necessity of increasing agricultural production and recommended a cost-benefit analysis of economic cooperation with Western nations--an analysis of costs that Angola has incurred without always obtaining the hoped-for results.

Because of the crisis, Angolan imports will this year not exceed in value the 1982 level, despite the fact that a \$200 million increase in exports is anticipated.

Expenditures in the form of investments in the economic sector will be channeled on a priority basis into agricultural production and into the rehabilitation of vehicles and equipment that have been imported in recent years without the corresponding creation of infrastructures for repair and maintenance.

Fivefold Increase in Foreign Debt

Even though the Angolan Government does not have any "desperate" payment problems (according to economic circles in Luanda), it must nonetheless service a foreign debt that increased fivefold from 1979 to 1982 but whose total has not been officially disclosed.

Even if life in Angola has not been a bed of roses, it hasn't all been thorns; and in some sectors the Angolan Government--under the direction of the MPLA-Labor Party--has obtained some undeniable successes.

The petroleum industry, for example, although impacted by the decline in world prices, has progressed normally and production is increasing.

Important discoveries have been made within the framework of the petroleum exploration and exploitation concessions already negotiated since independence, and the current production of 150,000 barrels per day could be doubled in 3 years.

The sabotage (using explosives) of the Luanda refinery--the only refinery in Angola--did not put it out of commission, as its perpetrators had claimed. Four months later, in March 1982, the refinery returned to operation at full capacity.

The situation is not so favorable with respect to diamond mining, and production has not increased in accordance with the targets established in the plan. DIAMANG's Angola Diamond Company 1982 balance sheet showed increased gravel production without a corresponding increase in the production of gems.

Although results continue far below those obtained in the final years of the Portuguese colonial presence the prospects for this year are better, given the increase in world prices, the large-scale offensive against the illicit traffic, and the initiation of exploitation of potentially richer zones.

As for Angola's third source of foreign exchange--coffee--production declined to slightly more than 10,000 tons per year, compared to 230,000 tons during the last years of colonialism.

Here, too, the war is present as a backdrop. Increasing the production of coffee requires an organized system covering purchases from the farmers; transportation; warehousing; security; and bartering for industrial products that are not imported in sufficient quantities because of the drain on foreign exchange as a result of the war.

Increasing Unemployment

The rural population is facing great difficulties, especially with respect to food, and rural residents are leaving the countryside for the cities in search of better living conditions.

One of the consequences of the war is the outmigration of a large number of rural residents to the cities. These rural populations represent unskilled labor that adds to the total of unemployed and overburdens the economic structure and social infrastructures such as housing and public health.

As for food, domestic production continues to be insufficient; but the fish catch is now close to satisfying demand and thereby compensating for the meat shortage. The food problem--as in the case of fuel--is one of distribution in the interior of the country. The costs of distribution are often inflated by the use of air transport, which has come to be employed in Angola with a frequency that is rare in Third World countries.

As for prices, the official schedule now in effect produces deficits that are financed by the government, which is already spending large sums to subsidize products such as cereal grains.

Economic circles believe that a revision of all prices is urgently necessary in order to enable the government to collect the kwanzas it needs--all the more so because taxes on wages have already been completely abolished.

Moreover, the Angolan state guarantees important social benefits such as a free national health service and also a free national education service.

Although the government's price policy has safeguarded the purchasing power of the population, the black market that has established itself as a large-scale parallel commercial circuit persists largely by virtue of the gap between the low official prices and the large volume of money in circulation.

The black market cleverly exploits inflation (the official figures for which are unknown), with average wages increasing from 6,500 kwanzas to 10,200 from 1979 to 1982 without a compensatory increase in the supply of goods.

Outlay for defense is calculated roughly to be 50 percent of Angola's total financial resources; but the overall cost of the war is far greater, although difficult to calculate.

In addition to the money spent by Angola to defend itself against the aggression of the South African regime there is the fact that the economy has lost

the activity of thousands of men and women who because they are in the army do not produce but do consume, and also the activity of thousands of civilians who are prevented from cultivating the land because of the armed confrontations and the damage caused by the disorganization of the commercial circuits.

Millions of dollars have been spent on defense rather than on the means of production, to which must be added the millions of dollars that have been lost as a result of those means of production that are unable to produce.

There is no doubt that Angola will for a long time feel the effects of a war that persists in the greater part of its territory solely because of the support from abroad.

The causes of the aggression against Angola were explained recently in New York by Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs Paulo Jorge. "It is," he said, "because Angola supports SWAPO and the opposition to the apartheid regime in South Africa."

Despite the verbal support of many countries (mainly African countries), in practice Angola has stood alone in supporting the effort to gain the independence of Namibia--a circumstance that caused one source with good connections in the Angolan Government to remark bitterly that "the world is filled with good intentions."

10992

CSO: 3442/70

ANGOLA

REPORT ON UNITA ADVANCES, CONTROLLED AREAS GIVEN

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 22 Nov 83 p 22

/Text/ As of 15 November, UNITA ceased to accept responsibility for anything that might happen to foreign nationals who are present in those areas of Angola that are regarded as "war zones," and has ceased to supply the identity of foreign nationals who are captured in the course of combat. In the communique (of that same date) which announced these decisions, President Jonas Savimbi advises that all foreigners should withdraw from those areas affected by the civil war. "It is no longer possible," he emphasizes, "to guarantee the physical safety of representatives of international or religious organizations, and only when peace returns to our country will these activities find the propitious and peaceful environment that they require."

The same communique states that the Czechoslovaks who are prisoners of UNITA are on the verge of mental collapse, but their future situation continues to be conditional on satisfaction of the demand made of the Luanda Government with respect to freedom for the 23 captured guerrillas. Both sides appear to be completely intransigent in this respect, and one should take note of the unconcern of the Prague Government as to the future of the captured Czechoslovaks.

The guerrillas are in the meantime continuing to capture foreign nationals who are cooperating with the government, according to another communique relating to military operations and distributed on the same date. Twelve Portuguese were among the 17 foreign nationals taken into custody during the assault on the government positions at Kazongo and Kavungo in Moxico Province. The remaining five were British nationals. The Portuguese and British authorities are continuing their silence on these matters--a circumstance that cannot fail to be cause for concern, particularly in view of the hardening of UNITA's position.

According to sources within the movement led by Jonas Savimbi, the provinces that are in a state of war and must be vacated immediately by all foreign nationals are: Cunene, Cuando-Cubango, Huila, Moxico, Bie, Huambo, Benguela, Quanza Sul, Quanza Norte, Matanje and Lunda, but UNITA asserts that the state of war will soon be extended to the provinces of Luanda and Bengo. The large-scale reinforcements in materiel and men that have recently arrived in Angola from Soviet and Cuban sources are designed--according to well-informed sources in the Angolan capital--to prevent at all costs any penetration by the guerrillas into Luanda and Bengo.

Included among the large quantities of military equipment that Russian experts are installing in the outskirts of Luanda (part of which was reportedly viewed approvingly by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on his recent trip to Caxito) are a number of Soviet ground-to-air missiles. The secrecy that surrounds the Cuban-Soviet reinforcement of the MPLA defenses (all movements take place during the night or in areas that are evacuated in advance) made it impossible to confirm this report. In any event, the government forces are preparing for the worst.

The same sources do not regard as very likely an attack by UNITA in the direction of Luanda in the immediate future, for the rebels would prefer to consolidate their position in the areas already under their control, as is the case at the present time in Moxico Province: with the capture of the important strategic position of Kasombo almost all of that province has come under rebel control with the exception of the capital of Luau, terminal of the Benguela Railroad on the Zaire border. The Zambia border, however, has come under UNITA control.

The communique mentions various other military actions to which it attributes importance, notably various attacks on columns of the Cuban Expeditionary Corps in Benguela Province and acts of sabotage in the city of Huambo (the former Nova Lisboa); although contrary to the usual practice it fails to mention either casualties or the capture of war materiel. On the part of the government authorities, the military situation continues to be blacked out systematically. In a speech he made at the ceremonies commemorating "Independence Day" in the town of Caxito, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos acknowledged that the enemy "has increased his activity in every respect," although he played down the seriousness of the military situation, declaring that the main concern of the MPLA at the present moment is "to create conditions that will enable it to carry out rapidly and successfully the emergency food plan." Certain passages in his speech deserve special attention on the part of observers, namely the passages in which Jose Eduardo dos Santos praises the solidarity with the Marxist Cuban regime and in one way or another reaffirms the ideological position taken by the People's Republic of Angola within the camp of the Soviet Union.

10992

CSO: 3442/70

COOPERATION WITH PORTUGAL IN DATA PROCESSING FIELD

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 16 Dec 83 p V-11

[Text] Without fanfare, and traversing political storms unscathed, a pioneer project for cooperation in the data processing field is being carried out at the University of Angola. It is project EDDI (Education and Development in the Data Processing Field), aimed at "the increasing transfer of know-how in the data processing field."

Two dozen of the best instructors from six Portuguese universities have formed a super-corps of teachers to provide for the first year of the special course in data processing at the School of Engineering in Luanda. The students (only 12) were hand-picked. There are some studying for an engineering degree, but also some with a degree and with professional experience. As the first cadres on a higher level trained in Angola, they are destined to play a major role in announcing to the country the "good news" about data processing. Facilities built from the ground up, devised by Angolan architects, working since 1 November and every day, will soon be opening for an intensive work program.

Methodology

The curriculum for the first year (fourth year of the course) is structured in three fields: architecture and microprocessors; scanning systems and computer networks; and programing sciences and technology. A fourth field includes a series of four backup seminars, with professionals outside the university participating therein. On the extracurricular level, every Saturday one or more guests will chair a debate on a general topic. For example, Pepetela took part in a debate on "Data Processing and Society."

For each of the three aforementioned fields, a team of instructors was formed who discussed the coordination of the different modules in an exhaustive and detailed fashion. In addition, each instructor prepared in advance a summary of the materials and laboratory work for the respective module, with a bibliographical reference, as well as a classroom plan. Each instructor will remain in Luanda for an average of 5 weeks. A plan covering the entire school year also stipulates the starting date and the date of the end of each instructor's stay in the Angolan capital. It is this methodology that makes it possible, on the one hand, to avoid intensive instruction (with all its limitations), and on the other, in view of the organization based on modules, to have recourse to highly specialized technicians to administer the instruction.

Requested to look outside the four walls of their own university, the Portuguese instructors, even before landing in the Angolan capital, had the experience (generally considered quite interesting) of "discovering" their neighbor's university. Prof Tiago de Oliveira, former state secretary for higher education, played a major role as a promoter of this process.

Increasing Transfer of Know-How

In good Portuguese style, it all began in mid-1980 with a talk between two friends, engineer Homero Leitao, director of the Angolan School of Engineering, and Dr Graca Martins, a new arrival from Grenoble, where she received a doctorate in computer networks. On that occasion, Homero Leitao mentioned his university's intention of progressing toward the creation of a data processing department. Soon thereafter, Graca Martins, an instructor at the University of Lisbon, with Madalena Quirino, an instructor at the New University, associated with the project from its first day, stayed in the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] for 3 weeks, to learn about the country's real situation. And in September 1980 they submitted to Angola the document entitled "Bases for a Project for Education and Development in the Field of Data Processing (EDDI)."

The project then embarked on a phase of political development, and was promptly "snapped up" by Ambassador Gaspar da Silva, then general director of cooperation.

Upon President Eanes' visit to Angola in 1982, it was to receive the "blessing" on the top level. Meanwhile, in 1981 that document was made public at the World Congress on Data Processing and Education at Lausanne. The interesting part of it (which did not go unnoticed by many congress attendees, including the UNESCO representative) is that it offered a complete response to the foreseeable (and desirable, at least to the manufacturers) increase in the Third World's demand for data processing.

According to the document, what is involved with regard to Angola is a process of transferring know-how, "leading to consecutive appropriation of that know-how by the receiving group and to increased knowledge and experience with local problems by the sending group."

Pivotal Issue of Sovereignty

As preliminary considerations, the document cites as geared to the RPA's need to attain rapid development "recourse to sophisticated methodologies and techniques for information processing, which until recently have been accessible only to the technologically developed countries." Moreover, it notes the changes brought about by "making data processing commonplace," by the development of telecommunications and by the decentralization of the computer networks. It also calls attention to "the desire of the industrialized countries to replace heavy industries (mass importing of raw materials, and mass exporting and consumption of industrial products) with anything involving less material and more value. According to the "Bases," a first conclusion is inferred from this:

"Data processing and telecommunications constitute a pivotal issue of sovereignty. Without their control, the state will not be able to guarantee the exercise of real independence."

What Cadres?

In summary, these are the considerations. And what are the specific goals of Project EDDI?

In essence, "it is aimed at training a critical mass of higher-level technicians capable of dynamizing and controlling the process of training intermediate cadres, guaranteeing their suitability for the priority areas of development determined on the national level, to develop education and research on data processing on the university level and to back the production and services sectors."

On the other hand, under the current circumstances marking the production of data processing material, "one of the aims of this project should be the determination of the curricula intended to train cadres capable of planning and maintaining heterogeneous systems, from the standpoint of independence from each supplier, insofar as the maintenance of the complete system is concerned."

According to the project, specialization in data processing consists of the last 2 years of an engineering course (preferably in electrotechnology). The curriculum, described as "broad spectrum," includes the following subjects: architecture of computers and micro-data processing; distributed systems and tele-data processing; operation systems; data processing and structures; languages; systems analysis; and data bases.

The duration of the project is 3 years, so as to include not only the training of the first team of higher-level cadres (2 years), but also, by way of follow-up, the process of teaching new teams by the first group.

Participation of Six Universities

With the project adopted on the political level in the context of the agreements for cooperation between Portuguese universities and the University of Angola, with the supervision by the Portuguese side carried out jointly by the State Secretariat of Cooperation and the General Administration of Higher Education, it was necessary to "set up shop."

The coordination for the execution of the project was promptly ensured by a mixed team consisting of two Portuguese members (Madalena Quirino and Graca Martins) and two Angolans (Homem Leitao and Diamantino Leitao, head of the Electrotechnical Engineering Department).

As for the financing, over \$1 million was procured from the commercial banks.

Hence, two tasks remained for the "operational groups": logistics and the recruitment of human resources. The former related to facilities and equipment. The facilities were created with Angolan planning and Swedish prefabricated construction. As for the equipment, after several technical hypotheses had been considered, the selection went to Data General (American). With some bureaucratic obstacles surmounted, the equipment is ready to be shipped to Angola, where it will be installed by personnel from Cassel Data (Data General's representative in Portugal), to whom the maintenance was also assigned. In the area of human resources, the Portuguese universities responded generously, in terms of both quality and quantity. Aveiro: 10 instructors; Coimbra: 15; Lisbon (Classical): 6; Minho: 7; Lisbon New: 12; and Porto: 5. In all there are 55 instructors (some of them will not be used until next year). Of that 55, only ten are assistants.

Fostering Business Cooperation

At the end of last month the "beginners" from the Data Processing Department took an active part in marking the anniversary of the University of Angola. The Portuguese university offered a computer of national manufacture, the EBER 1000, the seventh in the series devised at the University of Coimbra by a team headed by Prof Dias Figueiredo, and also nearly 1,000 technical works. The congratulatory message from the Portuguese state secretary of cooperation was read at the formal session.

At first, the Portuguese data processing firms questioned the sense of Portugal's participation in the project to train Angolan data processing cadres. At present, it seems obvious that those and other companies may be beneficiaries of a cooperation that will create spokesmen prepared to undertake more extensive projects. Moreover, the expansion of the markets could even indicate the establishment of common strategies in the various areas of data processing. That is why there is a political willingness.

2909

CSO: 3442/114

MEETING OF DISSIDENT GROUPS IN LISBON VIEWED AS TARNISHING RELATIONS

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 28 Oct 83 p 39

[Text] An American of Italian descent, identified as Pio Maria Deiana, appears to have been the organizer of the latest activities of Angolan opposition groups in Lisbon.

A well-informed source has told O JORNAL that Pio Maria Deiana was seen in the company of two former Portuguese commandos who had been prisoners in Angola since that country became independent. According to our sources, Deiana often visits the Portuguese capital, where he stays in one of the largest hotels in Lisbon.

According to the same source, Pio Maria Deiana has promoted and financed contacts between Daniel Chipenda (of the "Angolan National Convergence"), Xavier Lubota (of FLEC) and Hendrick Vaal Neto (leader of COMIRA [Military Committee of the Resistance in Angola], an organization which resulted from dissension within the FNLA).

In this connection, Deiana reportedly decided to finance the press conference which was to be held in a Lisbon hotel sometime during the week and which was banned by the Ministry of Internal Administration [MAI]. As a precautionary measure, since it did not know exactly where the conference was to be held, the MAI reportedly banned it from being held in five Lisbon hotels....

Our sources were unable to explain why the MAI preferred to take this shot in the dark approach rather than controlling the activities of the aforementioned U.S. citizen which would certainly be more effective.

CIA Agent?

According to some people, Pio Deiana is a CIA agent assigned to do the "dirty work" together with groups connected with the Italian Mafia headquartered in the United States and with interests in some parts of Africa. According to others, he is just a man of "shady deals," who tried to open in Luanda, after independence was achieved, the commercial representative office of an American company headquartered in New York, of which he was appointed a vice president.

Our sources state that he moves about at will in Lisbon, contrary to the statements of some anti-MPLA elements to the press, which reportedly have occurred in the middle of the street [as published]. The RPA [People's Republic of Angola] ambassador in Lisbon protested, together with the MNE [expansion unknown], against the freedom of movement enjoyed by these individuals, some of whom hold Portuguese passports, for conducting activities in Portugal in connection with a campaign against the government of Luanda, which has been recognized by Lisbon.

The "rebirth" of the FNLA within the country (at a time when it has been announced that Mobutu will visit Lisbon--see report elsewhere) is in addition to the activities of UNITA, against which Luanda has repeatedly lodged protests.

Criticism of Portugal

Thus a certain degree of tension is again developing in relations between Luanda and Lisbon, as also evidenced by RPA diplomatic representatives abroad, and which our correspondent in Bonn, Carlos Martins, witnessed during a conference in which the Angolan ambassador to Paris, Luis de Almeida, participated (see report elsewhere).

Regarding relations with Portugal, the RPA ambassador said that "the political character of the government in power at a certain time is not important, since cooperation is sometimes more productive with governments which state they are rightist than with others which claim to be leftist." In statements to the Portuguese-language division of Voice of Germany Radio, Luis de Almeida cited as an example the cases of the German Social Democratic Party and the Portuguese PS [Socialist Party], which "say one thing when they are the opposition and do another when they govern."

Another member of the Angolan delegation was more explicit and told O JORNAL that the policy of Mario Soares' government, first of all, did not respond to national interests, but to other directing interests and cited the recent blocking of credits to Mozambique, expressing the fear that the same thing might occur when lines of credit to Angola are soon renegotiated.

Prospects

However, just one week ago, the Angolan minister of foreign affairs, Paulo Jorge, visited Lisbon for slightly more than 24 hours to "grant a wish of Jaime Gama," expressing at the time "the conviction that we will be able to overcome the problems" in Luso-Angolan relations, which have sometimes been hindered "by the presence of UNITA in Portugal."

At a dinner given by Jaime Gama in the Palacio das Necessidades, Paulo Jorge appeared to be satisfied with the Portuguese Government's position, which he described as clear, and left for Paris with the feeling that Portugal intended to establish a "custom" of exchanging views and promoting cultural, industrial and trade cooperation.

Angolan officials also expressed their appreciation of the formal reaffirmation that Portugal supports UN Resolution 435 regarding Namibian independence and that the presence of Cubans in Angola is a matter which concerns the RPA Government alone.

SONANGOL OIL DRILLING, RESEARCH PROJECTS DESCRIBED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 17 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The National Angolan Fuel Company (SONANGOL) presently has its first hydrocarbon drilling and research project underway in block 4 of the Congo region. Sonangol has been set up as a mixed partnership company for this project. Another project worth mentioning, which involves the association of SONANGOL and CABGOC, is the development of Campo Takula, whose 2 initial phases are operational. This project is contributing significantly to the crude oil production of Cabinda.

In an interview granted to the Angolan News Agency (ANGOP), SONANGOL's management indicated that the fuel distribution section has an important goal, which is the construction of strategic centers and liquid and gas fuel storage facilities along the coast and in the interior of the country.

The Lobito gas tank and the Malanje storage facilities are some of the installations that are already operational. The Namibe gas tank and the Porto Amboim, Huambo and Lobito storage facilities are currently in more or less advanced stages of construction.

According to SONANGOL management, and within the scope of the company's projects, it is worth noting that the marketing of domestic gas, in addition to the already mentioned storage tanks of Lobito and Namibe, includes a series of filling stations, such as the ones in Cabinda, Malanje and Luanda. The latter is not yet ready, but the other 2 are already operational. These are also introducing SONANGOL's new bottle-valve distribution system.

Future Activity

As far as future expectations are concerned, SONANGOL hopes to increase its known reserves of hydrocarbons through the appropriation of new blocks and the implementation of new research projects at the already appropriated blocks. In this way, SONANGOL will always be working with a reasonable production coefficient of known reserves.

Nevertheless, according to company management, it is necessary to increase substantially the number and the technical capacity of the company's personnel, so that the appropriation of the new blocks and the increase in the already appropriated blocks can be run properly and yield the expected results.

As far as distribution is concerned, the goal of the majority of the projects is to rationalize existing capacities, and in some cases their expansion, with the hope of broadening the distribution network so that the products being marketed unify the production installations and the consuming public.

As to company defined priorities dealing with drilling and marketing oil, management indicated that it does not consider that defined priorities exist, since SONANGOL marketing regulations respect the government agreements of selling oil without intermediaries and to the best client, in order to diversify the markets.

The priorities of the company dealing with drilling and research are turned towards little-explored or unexplored areas, such as off-shore drilling in a large part of Cabinda and in blocks 1 and 4 of the Congo region, as well as the solidification, strengthening and consolidation of coordination and control of the associated companies.

On the other hand, SONANGOL policy conditions were defined for some priority programs, such as the program for the recovery and maintenance of equipment, the program for supplying the population and other essential goods.

According to SONANGOL management, the recovery and maintenance of equipment program, which has always been a concern, is presently seen as difficult because of the slowness of the importation process and because the planning of these tasks is not achieving the desired results.

According to company management, this refers specifically to the distribution networks, trucks and tankers, which are exposed to the varying changes the country is undergoing and to the fact that there is not alternative other than to continue supplying the country with the products that are vital for its continued growth.

The distribution to the general public has been on-going since 1982, with the distribution of fuel for light, which produced notable success in the central and southern portions of the country. The distribution of this fuel to the northern regions began in 1983.

12402

CSO: 3442/115

CHAD

STT REPORTEDLY FACING GENERALIZED CRISIS

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 16 Dec 83 pp 3-4

[Text] The administrative board of the Chadian Textile Company [STT] is meeting Thursday in Sarh against a background of generalized crisis. The many difficulties lived through by the STT since 1979 reached their peak in the last few months with the dismissal of more than 225 workers out of 600 employees. This reduction in staff expresses the deplorable situation of this industrial unit.

The administrators who will be in Sarh will discuss the STT's three main problems, which are the flow of products leaving the Sarh mills, the reduction in the price of cotton and the litigation setting it against the STEE [expansion unknown]. If the litigation remains a question of adjustment a solution to which can be found only between the two companies, the flow of "STT made" products constitutes a major problem for which rapid intervention by the authorities is sought. In a note addressed to our editorial staff, the deputy marketing director points out the need for state intervention in order to halt the downgrading of STT products on the Chadian market. Some 3 million meters of cloth come into Chad secretly each year through Ndjamena, Many, Bagasola, Lere, Guelendeng and Bongor. This represents for the STT a turnover of some 1 billion CFA francs. Clement Nadjibe explains the problems in selling experienced by the STT with regard to this invasion.

"The study of the Chadian market (in textiles) that I undertook 13 months ago in eight prefectures (Ouaddai, Salamat, Chari-Baguirmi, Mayo-Kebbi, Tandjile, Middle Shari and the two Logones) enabled me to define more precisely the different components of the problems in selling that we are now experiencing. The drop in our sales of dyed cretonne, drill, grey baft shirting and blue jean material is explained by the large volume of imports of secondhand clothing and assorted remnants. For example, last June, we came across a 30-ton trailer truck full of bales of secondhand clothing, but with "rags" mentioned on the consignment note. As an irony of fate, this shipment, among so many others, had Sarh as its destination! The truck loaded with rags had stopped at a garage on 40th Street, nor far from the firm of Adoum Tchere. These bales of rags are going to Sarh because the textile mill set up in that city cannot produce rags! What a dilemma! It is undeniable that these consignments disrupt the marketing of our fabrics and compromise the manufacturing program of the spinning and weaving mill.

The competent authorities should appreciate at its just worth the situation created by the introduction of products whose necessity is not proven and for which, moreover, customs collections cannot offset the loss of the single tax and, even more serious, the social problems that the idleness of the dismissed compatriots will not fail to produce in their families.

Outlines of a solution

For this gravely ill Chadian Textile Company we must find fortifying pills, for, as I see it, the first of these pick-me-ups will be to return to its Chadian market. What good is it to set up a cotton mill in Chad if we do not take any step to guarantee and protect the domestic market, particularly in the face of an invasion of the same product from abroad? Thus, measures should be taken, as a matter of urgency, to return to the STT at least all of the current market of some 10 million meters. We must act as of now, for the active campaign (cotton market) is already beginning and the naira will continue to fall on the parallel exchange (today nearly 8 naira per 1,000 CFA francs, and perhaps 10 naira per 1,000 CFA francs (tomorrow). The STT will be able to meet the demand without difficulty, since its production capacity is higher than 20 million meters a year and its distribution policy is to cover all of Chad's 14 prefectures.

The second step to be taken obviously concerns the rehiring of the 225 workers dismissed a few weeks ago, and the second of these pick-me-ups would be to reexamine the big STT file placed at the disposal of the authorities concerned at the beginning of 1983. Most particularly, the settlement of the litigation between the STT, the STEE and the treasury, as well as a review of electricity and raw cotton prices. In order to operate, for the last 5 years the STT has been obliged to ensure the supply and financing of diesel oil for the STEE power station in Sarh. The advances having been offset only in part by electricity consumption, the debt amounts to more than 700 million francs today. A reduction in the price of electricity by 5 francs per kilowatt will reduce the spinning and weaving loss because the consumer of 600,000 or 300,000 kilowatts [as published]. We think that an adjustment to the benefit of the large users would be just and reasonable.

The problem of rehiring the 225 workers and the straightening out of accounts are also going by way of the reduction in the price of cotton. The current price is 600 francs per kilogram against 362 francs in 1982. The price of raw cotton should be fixed in terms of the purchasing power of the Chadian consumer, from whom Cotonchad buys cotton at 80 francs per kilogram, not based on the world market in American dollars (thus, for a rich American farm consumer, who certainly does not sell his cotton at 80 francs a kilogram). I feel it my duty to call the attention of our interlocutors to the serious difficulties endured by the STT since 1979, which could bring about the stoppage of the mill if the problems I have mentioned concerning smuggling, the STEE litigation and the price of cotton are not settled very quickly.

9434

CSO: 3419/305

CHAD

BRIEFS

MISSION INSPECTS WATER SUPPLY--A joint technical mission consisting of Brahim Bessani, head of the water office in the national meteorological department; Gaby Djarma, technician in the national pastoral and village water resources office; Mahamat Issa Faradjala and Madi Elie, respectively program head and person in charge of audiovisual techniques in the UNESCO national commission, crisscrossed Guera Prefecture for nearly a month. The goal assigned to this mission was to inspect the dams for the overflow from water-bearing beds, water supply points and the laying out of new water wells in the region. This field was within the province of Gaby Djarma and Brahim Bessani in particular. From the work carried out by these two technicians, it appears that for Mongo Prefecture alone, there are 43 dams and 19 wells laid out. For the 19 wells, which are basically located in the city of Mongo and its environs, 11 still contain a little water, which is very insufficient compared with the water needs of the population. According to the mission, the technical problems posed by locating and harnessing water-bearing beds in the mountain areas of Guera are crucial. The beds are practically nonexistent and those that are found are beds of rocks and underflow, that is, underground flows in possible riverbeds. These beds are basically fed by precipitation, which unfortunately has been very insufficient these last few years. To solve these difficulties, according to the two technicians, exploration by aerial photography makes it possible to pinpoint easily and precisely exploitable water supply points in a rational manner. [Excerpt] [Ndjamena INFO TCHD in French 19 Dec 83 p 3] 9434

CSO: 3419/305

USSR DELIVERS 10,000 TONS OF FISH

Conakry HOROYA in French No 2997, 11-17 Dec 83 p 25

[Text] On Saturday 10 December 1983 at the port of Conakry, the Soviet refrigerator ship "Kristalny" served as the backdrop for the ceremony marking the fulfillment prior to the deadline of the 1983 plan to deliver 10,000 tons of fresh-frozen fish to the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea in accordance with the contract linking the Societes Importex on the Guinean side and Prodintorg on the Soviet side.

This result was possible thanks to the work of all the fishing and transportation crews, to the understanding between the representatives of the fishing Industry Ministry of the USSR and the general fishing board and the coordinating efforts of the refrigerator enterprise and the autonomous port of Conakry.

Guinean-Soviet cooperation in the fishing industry field began in February 1966 when the first agreement was signed.

Based on credit that she granted to Guinea, the USSR delivered STS-type boats, on which Soviet and Guinean sailors were to work jointly for several years. A refrigerated warehouse intended for storing the frozen products was also built.

Since then, cooperation between our two countries in the fishing industry field has continued to develop, making possible the signing of a new inter-governmental agreement on 25 May 1981.

It must be stressed that the fulfillment prior to the deadline of the current year's plan constitutes an appreciable contribution toward satisfying our food needs.

9895

CSO: 3419/283

NATIONAL OPERATION FOR RICE GROWING OUTLINED

Conakry HOROYA in French No 2997, 11-17 Dec 83 p 21

[Text] This project is jointly financed by the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, the groups from the World Bank and the African Development Bank, at a total cost of 19.6 million U.S. dollars. Its goal is the planning and coordinating of rice-growing activities in Guinea. It includes two components:

a) a national component whose tasks consist of:

- planning and assisting the project's other components,
- beginning an accompanying national applied research program in the three agro-ecological areas of Maritime Guinea, Upper Guinea and Forested Guinea,
- studying and preparing other rice-growing development projects,
- studying incentives for increasing agricultural production,
- insuring the training of managers in the rice-growing field.

b) a pilot component called Operation Rice Gueckedou (ORG) whose aim is to transform the traditional system of rice production first practiced by the farmers into a modern system based on:

- total control of water by simple and inexpensive adjustments, allowing two harvests per year,
- the use of improved, very high-yield seeds,
- the use of mineral fertilizers.

The pilot project includes:

- a seed farm
- a rural engineering unit for developing land and service roads,

--a development department charged with promoting the spread of the appropriate techniques to the level of the farmers with the intention of increasing their production.

The first phase of the project, which ends in 1983, has been in operation for 2 years and has achieved the following results:

--number of families trained: 3,500 out of a goal of 2,700

--surface area sown in pluvial rice: 1,658 hectares, out of a goal of 4,000 hectares

--selected seed distributed to farmers: 82.2 tons

--amount of fertilizer distributed to the farmers: 176.5 tons

--length of roads [pistec] created: 90 km, over 63 projected

--number of mini-dams: 26.

A credit service operates within the project to aid farmers by granting them repayable loans.

Farming yields, which were 1 ton, have grown to 3 and 4.5 per hectare on the average.

c) Agricultural research: An agricultural research program was begun in 1981 in the three research stations: Baro, Koba, Gueckedou.

The themes bore especially on varietal research, fertilizer and herbicide tests and demonstration tests.

Interesting results were obtained. They made it possible to clarify and better select the different varieties of rice (pluvial, irrigated and mangrove) depending on the agro-ecological areas of Guinea.

d) Infrastructure: The first construction phase is under way and concerns the completion of the development buildings, a training center, offices and five villas at the pilot project at Gueckedou.

All the work should be finished in December 1983.

e) Prospects: The project proposes to enlarge the Gueckedou Center (ORG) in the center of the relay project over the area of Gueckedou, Kissidougou as well as creating two pilot projects at Baro and Koba.

9895

CS0: 3419/283

BRIEFS

FRG LOAN AGREEMENT--The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has agreed to provide Lesotho with a development loan of 3 million maluti toward the building of a rural development center at Semonkong. This is contained in an agreement signed this afternoon by the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Retsilisitsoe Sekhonyana, and the German ambassador, Dr Hans Wolter, on behalf of their respective governments. The center will provide housing for education, transport, health, postal, and community development services and offices to support and encourage small-scale enterprises, including women's cooperatives. The agricultural sector will cover forestry and the improvement of livestock in the surrounding areas. The agreement also provides for the Government of Lesotho to apply for further financial assistance which may be required during the implementation of the project. [Text] [MB201352 Maseru Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 19 Jan 84]

CSO: 3400/570

ZAMBEZIA GOVERNOR ANNOUNCES START OF 'OPERATION PRODUCTION'

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Joao Carimo]

[Text] The inhabitants of the Chinde and Mopeia Districts in Zambezia Province have declared themselves ready for the fight against dropouts and criminals. The attitude of the inhabitants was expressed to the leader of Zambezia Province when the latter announced the start in the near future of "Operation Production."

Mario Machungo, who hailed the determination and combative spirit demonstrated by the inhabitants of the two districts, called for organizing the inhabitants in such a way as to ensure the success of "Operation Production."

Speaking at the people's meetings with the inhabitants that were held under his leadership during his recent visit to Chinde and Mopeia, Mario Machungo said that all block and zone leaders and secretaries of cells and circles should begin a census of the entire population and possess systematic and verified information concerning the occupation of each citizen so as to make "Operation Production" effective.

The leader of Zambezia Province announced that district operations commands would soon be set up in the two districts. Mario Machungo added that brigades from the Provincial Operations Command would soon be at work in Chinde and Mopeia to establish the principal conditions for starting the process.

The member of the FRELIMO Party Politburo and leader of Zambezia Province told the inhabitants: "'Operation Production' is an instrument of the revolution for the economic reconstruction of our country and the political and patriotic education of the citizens. It is therefore necessary that you organize to detect and neutralize every enemy maneuver aimed at maligning and sabotaging the goals of this operation."

Mario de Graca Machungo denounced a number of maneuvers in the province that have been aimed at sabotaging and deflecting the goals of "Operation Production," and he warned the inhabitants to be vigilant and ready to report opportunists who use the process to achieve their personal ends and conceal and protect anomalous situations.

"'Operation Production' is not a process for persecuting those we do not like or for protecting our nephews, sons-in-law and sons who are dropouts and unproductive. We want to remove the cancers of laziness and illegal activity and help each citizen live from his labor in peace and tranquillity."

According to the leader of Zambezia Province, "Operation Production" will also be directed against black marketeers, because their activity is the symbol of parasitism, one of the evils being combated by the revolution.

Agriculture and Fishing Are Main Activities

The practice of agriculture and the development of fishing activity were singled out by the leader of Zambezia Province as the main areas to which unproductive individuals and dropouts will be assigned.

Mario Machungo, who praised the great agricultural and hydrographic potential of Chinde and Mopeia, said that "Operation Production" must be the impelling and dynamizing factor in the development of the two districts and a real tool in the fight against hunger.

For that reason, Machungo recommended rehabilitation of the economic foundations existing throughout the district and the opening up of new areas for the cultivation of rice, since the two districts are unrivaled throughout the province as producers of that cereal.

It should be pointed out that the Chinde and Mopeia Districts are the two areas with the greatest potential for rice production, since they each have irrigated areas of over 1,500 hectares that need to be rehabilitated.

"When we talk about economic reconstruction, we are talking about rehabilitation of the existing foundations, and we are also talking about the promotion of small projects, the organization of cooperatives, fishing, and handicrafts. We are talking about everything we can do now with the means at our disposal and with the strength and determination of the people to eliminate hunger and nakedness," explained the leader of Zambezia Province during the people's meetings over which he presided in Chinde and Mopeia. And he said that all unproductive individuals would be put to work in keeping with their occupations, capabilities, and aptitudes.

11798

CSO: 3442/226

LOCAL, INTERNATIONAL DROUGHT RELIEF EFFORTS

WFP Barge Distributes Food

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] The beginning of operations of the barge "Cinco de Junho" chartered by the PMA [World Food Program] is becoming a decisive factor in the struggle against the effects of drought in Inhambane. Suffice it to say that in the Vilanculos area the number of daily deaths has dropped from 15 to an average of 5.

With the fifth trip that is taking place now, from Inhambane to Vilanculos, the barge will have delivered 1,600 tons of cargo to the affected districts of Vilanculos, Inhassoro and Mambone. This means that at least a significant portion of the 800,000 persons affected in Inhambane already have something to eat. Previously products from domestic supplies or from international aid were filling warehouses in Inhambane and Beira without a hope of getting to where they were needed. The barge, chartered by the PMA for this emergency program, has 350 tons displacement and is 30 meters long. It has the unique quality that with all that tonnage it navigates in relatively shallow waters so it goes to the ports of Vilanculos and Inhassoro carrying the cargo from Beira and Inhambane. Even if it does not get close to Mambone because it cannot enter the Save River, there is already a solution in sight for that port with the utilization of flatboats. In addition, the efficiency and speed of the barge and its crew surpassed all the estimates of the province: this fifth trip of the "Cinco de Junho" which probably started on the 23rd of this month, was planned to start only on 8 December. It does not stop in port even 1 day, we were told.

But It Is Not Enough

Now we are faced with the question of the food, clothing and seeds reaching the remaining district sites and localities where people are concentrated. This was the reason for the recent visit to Inhambane Province of State Secretary for Supply Francisco Masquil, together with the UN representative in Mozambique, Otto Denes, and the representative of the PMA, Ibrahim Sharif. Among the visitors were also the PMA transportation coordinator and a representative of SIDA [Swedish Development Agency]. In Vilanculos they discussed

with the district administrator, Eduardo Gimo, the ways of making the use of the barge more efficient and the needs of the district. It is to be noted that Vilanculos is responsible for the entire north zone of Inhambane.

The big problem at this time is to take the food to the interior. Paulo Langa, director of the Department of Prevention and Struggle Against Natural Calamities in Inhambane, told us: "The front drive trucks we had no longer work. They were used a great deal from 1978 to 1981. Last year we used tractors, but we no longer have them because they were destroyed." At the meeting of the delegation with the provincial govern, the UN representative guaranteed the availability of \$2 million (about 80,000 contos) offered by SIDA to buy trucks for this purpose. With these trucks and because the bandits have suffered heavy defeats in Inhambane, there will be guarantee to reverse the situation which today is truly catastrophic.

Within this emergency program in Inhambane Province, between August and the first days of November 2,000 tons of corn, 800 cartons of milk, 1,000 boxes of pre-cooked soup and 3 tons of milk for adults were distributed. However, the needs estimated for the next 6 months are: 28,000 tons of corn, 21,000 tons of rice, pasta and beans, and about 4,000 on milk. This is in addition to seeds, clothing and medicine.

Still No Rain

At any rate, the prospects regarding agricultural production, the only definitive solution, are not good. It is enough to say that there still is no rain in Inhambane. There were some sprinkles in June and July, seeds were sown in the ground, but later the heat burned everything again. In Vilanculos there was 1 day of rain in November and that is all. "You don't need to roll up your pants to crosss the Save River," said Paulo Langa. The ponds are dry and not even grass grows even with a drilling from 60 to 70 meters, said Eduardo Gimo.

Aid From Netherlands

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] The Government of the Kingdom of Holland this year will grant to our country technical and financial aid for the development of small-scale irrigation projects in Zambezia, Gaza and Maputo provinces. This was announced yesterday by the charge d'affaires of the embassy of that European country in Maputo, A. Vanden Wiel, at the signing of an agreement for the donation on the part of Holland of 15,000 tons of cereals to help the population affected by the drought in our country.

Minister of Domestic Trade Aranda da Silva signed for Mozambique in his capacity as vice president of the Department of Prevention and Struggle Against Natural Calamities. As was announced on the occasion, the 15,000 tons of the Dutch donation comprising 10,000 tons of corn and 5,000 tons of wheat flour are expected in Mozambique soon.

Growth of RPM-Holland Cooperation

"We feel that on all occasions when the people of Mozambique faced difficult times, the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was present. At this time, which is also one of the most difficult, especially in this southern zone of the country where nearly 4 million persons are affected by the drought and live in difficult conditions, this contribution will serve to a large extent to alleviate the situation of these people," said Minister Aranda da Silva.

After pointing out that throughout the past few years the Dutch Government has demonstrated understanding of the nature of the difficulties caused by natural disasters facing our country, Aranda da Silva said that the donation is within the context of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and countries, in which the recent visit of President Samora Machel to Holland marked a very important step.

Contribution to Economic Development

For his part, the charge d'affaires of the Dutch Embassy, A. Vanden Wiel, pointed out that the donation responds to the appeal of the Mozambican Government to the international community asking for help in alleviating the difficult situation of the country at this time, due to the worst drought facing the People's Republic of Mozambique in the past few years.

In addition to the 15,000 tons of cereal, of a total of food aid which this year is envisaged to be 20,000 tons, the Dutch diplomat announced that the government of his country will also donate \$750,000 to pay for the cost of transportation of the food offered by the Zambian Government to Mozambique.

"As donors, we are not only interested in offering food products, but also in contributing to make Mozambique independent of food donations by increasing domestic production of food. In this connection, we have decided this year to give technical and financial aid to the State Secretariat of Agricultural Hydraulics for the development of small-scale irrigation systems in various points of the country, namely in Zambezia, Gaza and Maputo," concluded the Dutch diplomat.

Trucks from Sweden

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Nov 83 p 10

[Text] The Swedish Development Agency (SIDA) has placed at the disposal of the Department for the Prevention and Struggle Against Natural Calamities, \$2 million (around 80 million meticals) in cash for the purpose of buying in Sweden 21 Scania trucks for the transportation of products for the population of the two southern provinces most affected by the drought, according to information provided by the director, Amos Estevao Mahanjane.

The trucks should arrive in Mozambique toward the middle of December and at the end of that month will already be operating in Inhambane and Gaza provinces, according to the protocol signed between the two organizations.

This donation was made in response to the appeal issued by the Mozambican Government to obtain support of governments, countries or international institutions to be able to face the effects of the drought that has been going on for several years in eight provinces and which especially affects the two provinces of the south.

According to the director of the Department of Prevention and Struggle Against Natural Calamities, the fleet of vehicles will be used to transport food to different districts of Gaza and Inhambane in order to guarantee that it reaches the population.

Amos Manhanjane revealed that the plan for food distribution in Gaza and Inhambane has already been prepared, the former to receive 9 trucks and the latter 12. The plan envisages priority allocation of some trucks to certain districts of the two provinces and according to information revealed, priorities will be assigned according to the difficulties of each district.

In addition to financing the purchase of trucks, SIDA also placed at the disposal of the Department of Prevention and Struggle Against Natural Calamities a sum of \$1.5 million for the purchase of spare parts.

This amount also includes work of permanent assistance to the truck fleet and delivery of this money is aimed at reducing difficulties facing the country due to lack of spare parts and assistance to the truck fleet.

The World Food Program (PMA), which plays an important role in the mobilization of material and food resources and in helping the drought victims of our country, participated in the preparation of the program of utilization of the trucks and also in the talks that led to the signing of the agreement.

Vietnam Gives Rice

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Dec 83 p 1

[Excerpt] The ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Mozambique yesterday delivered to the Mozambican Government a donation of 2,000 tons of rice and 500 contos in cash to help the victims of drought in our country. Minister of Domestic Trade Aranda da Silva represented the Government of Mozambique at the ceremony. It was also announced that 20 tons of medicine given by UNICEF to help victims of natural calamities have just arrived in Mozambique. At the act of delivery of the Vietnamese donation, Minister Aranda da Silva expressed the gratitude of the Mozambican people for this gesture, saying that the Vietnamese people offer this donation in spite of their own difficulties.

On this occasion Aranda da Silva made reference to the support of the Vietnamese people that was always given [to Mozambique] since the time of the Armed Liberation Struggle of our country and even during the North American invasion of Vietnam in 1975.

The minister of domestic trade also said that the heroic and difficult work started by the Vietnamese people to overcome the difficulties caused by the floods of 1973 in that country, serves as an example to our people in their struggle against the drought.

In turn, the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Khe Huynh, expressed the desire of the Vietnamese people to see the friendship ties that unite the two peoples and states become ever stronger, and said that "we are always united in joy and sorrow, sharing one and the other, our difficulties and misfortunes."

Nguyen Khe Huynh added that due to historical and geographic similarities between the two countries, the people and government of his country understand the food problems facing our people, aggravated also by the nefarious action of armed bandits trained and financed by South Africa.

In conclusion Nguyen Khe Huynh conveyed the fraternal greetings of the president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to President Samora Machel, and condemned the criminal policy practiced by the racist South African regime.

Pambara Refugees Get Food

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 Nov 83 p 3

[Report by Antonio Marmelo entitled "Hope Vanquishes Death"]

[Text] Pambara is the name of a center for refugees from hunger located at 15 km from Vilanculos. At this time there are 5,000 persons there, but more people arrive every day. In this district alone there are 150,000 persons who are affected. "Some come from as far as 275 km," Igor Vaz, the physician told us. One has to see how they come. The state of malnutrition is so serious that any infection, no matter how small, kills them. "Prostration is less serious among adults, but there are some who are in this state," continued Igor.

They arrive at the center and there they stay, seated, lying down, real ghosts without life. It is heartbreaking to see these children who look at us as if they cannot see anything, totally listless, absolutely wasted away. To see the babies sucking stubbornly their mothers' dry breasts... And these mothers...What do they feel?

"And this is nothing," said the administrator, Eduardo Gimo. "One has to have courage to see the other centers," because this one is Pambara, because of its favorable position, already has all the support possible. It provides one daily meal of cornmeal, the children receive milk two or four times a day, according to age. The physician is nearby, and the center has two paramedics. The problem is to survive the first days. One can notice a great difference between those who have just arrived and those who already have been in the center more time, although they bear scars that will never be healed.

Hope

However, those who are outside have hope. The situation will improve. Help is already arriving efficiently to Vilanculos, Inhassor and Mambone. Soon it will be just as efficient regarding transport to the interior. Mortality has diminished a great deal. It passed from 15 daily deaths to 5. The bandits are dispersed, without campsites and are harassed by the troops. International support has been quick and efficient. Of course, local cadres are devoting themselves with all energy to the problem. Who better than they will have the necessary sensitivity? There are no vehicles with front wheel drive, but the administrator walks. He has already done so, and will continue.

11635

CSO: 3442/87

BUREAUCRACY RESPONSIBLE FOR FOOD DISTRIBUTION FAILURES

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Joao Carimo]

[Text] One and a half tons of potatoes have rotted in the warehouses of Fruit and Vegetable Sales Outlet No 1 in the city of Quelimane. The product, which was intended for supplying the local population, was discovered by Mario de Graca Machungo, leader of Zambezia Province, when he inspected the outlet's facilities last 30 November.

Mario Machungo was asked to inspect Fruit and Vegetable Sales Outlet No 1 in Quelimane because hundreds of people were making a terrible clamor in front of the establishment.

The leader of Zambezia Province, who was visiting the locality, was informed that the workers at the fruit and vegetable sales outlet had closed the doors even though the inhabitants had been there since the early morning hours.

Calling for the manager of the sales outlet, who had already gone home, Mario Machungo ordered the outlet's doors opened. Inside, the leader of Zambezia Province came across a large quantity of potatoes piled in one corner of the establishment. He also found others that were already in an advanced stage of spoilage.

Called upon to explain the situation, the manager of the sales outlet said that the potatoes had spoiled because the Ministry of Home Trade had not yet approved the sales plan submitted by the Fruit and Vegetable Office.

"We cannot make the citizens bear the brunt of the inefficiency of our bureaucratic system," said Mario Machungo, and he ordered the immediate sale of all the potatoes available.

According to the explanation given to the leader of Zambezia Province by the outlet's manager, the potatoes had been stored in the warehouse pending approval of the sales plan for a week, even though hundreds of people had spent entire days propped up in line in front of the establishment, waiting for the opportunity to buy.

"This is a case of genuine abuse of and disrespect for the people, and it is intolerable in our revolution. We must never make the people pay for our sluggishness and inefficiency with paperwork."

He was particularly vigorous in denouncing the bureaucracy in Quelimane that is weakening the system of supplies for the inhabitants.

This is not the first time that delays in receiving a signature from the Ministry of Home Trade have kept products of various kinds in the warehouse for several days. And in the meantime, the inhabitants have spent hours and days in line without ever knowing when the products would be sold.

One of the citizens waiting in line at the fruit and vegetable outlet on the occasion in question welcomed the intervention by the leader of Zambezia Province, saying: "When it is not the lack of a signature that is holding up the sale of products, it is the manager of the place who is not on hand to supervise sales that have been approved. It is the inhabitants who must wait in line for days on end for no reason."

Such a situation, which has been sharply criticized by Mario Machungo on many occasions, only harms the population, since as we noted during his visit to Fruit and Vegetable Sales Outlet No 1, the so-called "back doors" were open to supply a small number of opportunists.

"Back Door Sales" To Be Reported

"We must get rid of the system of selling products through the 'back door' to friends, cronies, and relatives. What exists is for the people and must be sold in a rational manner to everyone," said Mario Machungo, and he called on the inhabitants to report those irregularities.

The leader of Zambezia Province announced at the same time that from now on, any sales through the "back door" will be punished severely because, as Mario Machungo said, they "are an attack on the implementation of our revolutionary principles."

Responding to his appeal, the inhabitants reported to the provincial leader a number of instances in which the fruit and vegetable workers had sold items through the "back door."

Mario Machungo said: "Your mission is not to favor anybody. Your job is to sell to everyone fairly and on an equal basis. You are not being paid, and we are not paying you, to practice nepotism or favoritism."

11798

CSO: 3442/226

NEW TEACHERS GRADUATE, RECEIVE ASSIGNMENTS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] Over 160 secondary teachers trained at the School for the Training and Education of Teachers [EFEP] in Maputo graduated last Monday during a ceremony at which various prizes in connection with socialist emulation were also distributed. The ceremony was presided over by Zacarias Kupela, member of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee and secretary general of the OJM [Mozambique Youth Organization].

According to statements by Olga Iglesias, director of EFEP, the course of studies was satisfactorily completed, with a pass rate on the order of 97.9 percent.

She added that in addition to the 162 new teachers, another 4 are preparing to take the exam again, and it is expected that they will pass.

Olga Iglesias announced that the new teachers have already been assigned to various provinces in the country and that the assignments were well received by the new teachers thanks to a consciousness-raising program at EFEP concerning the need to send teachers wherever they are most needed.

Conclusion of Course

Several activities took place in Maputo on Monday to mark the conclusion of this teacher training course, outstanding examples being the laying of wreaths of flowers at the Monument to the Heroes and a demonstration of military training by the graduates during the morning hours. Athletic activities also began during the morning.

The ceremony for handing out diplomas to the graduates was held in the afternoon. At the same time, various messages were read, and prizes were given to the teachers who had been most outstanding in socialist emulation during the course.

In their message, the new teachers expressed their satisfaction at graduating and said they were ready to take on the difficult battle of education.

Zacarias Kupela, secretary general of the OJM, spoke on the same occasion. He praised the new teachers and explained briefly the importance that education has in our people's struggle against underdevelopment.

Zacarias Kupela urged the teachers to devote themselves with dedication to their new positions, even though some of them must leave their families and go to work far from their native provinces.

Zacarias Kupela said: "We must all realize that there is more to our country than just Maputo. Moreover, those who go to other provinces must keep in mind that they are going there because that is where they are most needed."

The prizes for socialist emulation were awarded to the best students, those most active in the OJM, the best class groups, those keeping the best rooms, and the best workers at the school.

The school emblem was also presented at the same ceremony, and OJM membership cards were distributed to the teachers.

11798

CSO: 3442/226

BRIEFS

ECONOMICS COURSE CONCLUDES--The first phase of the second course in economics at the National Planning Commission's Cadre Training School in Maputo, which began 3 months ago, ended last Saturday. Marcelo Andrade, national director of economics for the National Planning Commission, attended the ceremony, over which he also presided. The second and final phase will begin in March 1984 and end in June. NOTICIAS learned that a total of 16 persons are taking the second course in economics. They are from various economic sectors in the country, examples being SOGERE, the Zambezia Company, the Matola Industrial Company, the media, and so on. As was noted in the reports presented at the ceremony, the first phase of the course included talks and seminars on economic planning and other subjects related to the economic process, among them Marxist philosophy. The end of the first phase of this course was marked by a meeting that included the awarding of prizes to students who had distinguished themselves in socialist emulation and the distribution of certificates of participation. According to Marcelo Andrade, national director of economics for the National Planning Commission, there is every need for the participants to make efforts to put the knowledge they have gained into practice in accordance with the specific nature of the work each one does. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Dec 83 p 1] 11798

CABO DELGADO LEADER CRITICIZES REACTIONARIES--The Cabo Delgado provincial leader, Alberto Chipande, has strongly denounced the subversive action being carried out by some reactionary individuals in Mueda District. Alberto Chipande stressed that some of the individuals who are accused of promoting subversive actions in some villages of Mueda District belonged to the Mozambique African National Union [MANU], one of the three movements which merged to form Frelimo. The individuals in question are (Eugenio Mukhelelule), Lucas Mbude, and (Anastasio Chikama Issumane)--individuals who were tried and reeducated for their reactionary actions within Frelimo during the national liberation armed struggle. At a mass rally in Mueda District, the Cabo Delgado provincial leader said that some of these individuals did not accept the integration of MANU into Frelimo and in 1964, shortly before the commencement of the armed struggle, they attempted to murder some combatants, including Alberto Chipande. At the same mass rally, Lt Gen Alberto Chipande announced that the individuals will be removed from Mueda and placed in different centers for war veterans to enable the authorities to exercise greater control over their activities. [Text] [MB232015 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 23 Jan 84]

RESULTS OF PRESIDENTIAL TOUR OF TAHOUA DEPARTMENT REPORTED

Kountche's Speech

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 28 Dec 83 pp 1, 3, 6

[Text] The president of the Supreme Military Council and chief of state, Gen Seyni Kountche, returned to Niamey yesterday morning following an extensive 8-day tour he made of the department of Tahoua. On his return to Niamey yesterday, the chief of state was welcomed as he left the plane by the president of the National Development Council, Mr Oumarou Mamane, and the chief of the general staff of the FAN [Niger Armed Forces], Lt Col Ali Saibou. He was then greeted by Prime Minister Hamid Algabit, Grand Chancellor of National Orders Gen Dupuis Henri Yacouba, and all of the members of the Supreme Military Council and the cabinet present in Niamey. In a statement he made to the press yesterday afternoon, the chief of state said that this visit had given him reason for great satisfaction.

The following is the full text of the statement by the chief of state.

"Our recent extensive tour in the department of Tahoua dates back to December 1979 and it was necessary to understand clearly the usual approach to it. The goals and purposes of this kind of visit involve making contact with the people and learning about their conditions of life'.

This means, in the context of the department of Tahoua, seeing what advance has been made in certain of our projects and, of course, to what extent there have in the meantime been a certain number of socioeconomic achievements. It was indeed necessary to see how these achievements had come about.

Let us begin with the basics. The department of Tahoua is of a basically pastoral nature, on the basis of the fact that two-thirds of this department is made up of areas unsuitable for cultivation, and thus allocated to pasturage.

What we saw in October in assessing the agropastoral situation on the national level was borne out. Apart from some plots in the immediate environs, I believe, of the North, Northeast and to a limited extent the South in the environs of Tchintabaraden, one can say that as compared to certain departments similarly dedicated, the pastoral situation is after all satisfactory in this department.

The state of the livestock is relatively good. The only problem in exploiting this pasturage rationally is the water problem.

Another characteristic of this department, to be sure, is the other third, where two-thirds of the population is concentrated. More than a million inhabitants are located in this southern zone.

The department of Tahoua has shown a deficit, on the basis of the fact that in the Keita district, the situational deficit has become structural, and the fact that a third of the population does not engage in livestock breeding reverses the roles.

When a sack of millet costs 9,000 francs in Tillia and more or less the same amount in Tassara, one cannot speak of an alarming situation. The markets are sufficiently well supplied, as are the stores of the OPVN [Nigerien Food-stuffs Office]. In this department, there is recourse to the OPVN simply to buy rice or perhaps wheat and a little corn. Nor should we forget, taking this enormous potential in the Maggia, more or less scattered here and there thanks to certain projects, into account, that the department of Tahoua is increasing its production by a considerable contribution from out-of-season crops.

Development Projects

In this connection, I think there is no cause for alarm.

There is no shortage of projects in Tahoua. Those of a pastoral nature include the plans to modernize livestock breeding in the southern part of Tamesna. We had an opportunity to visit these projects and the centers in the department of Tahoua, in Telemces and Tillia, which are engaged in re-establishing the pumping stations, the supports of the pastoral world, in other words to staff them and make facilities available to them for the improvement of livestock breeding.

We were nonetheless impressed with the development of this first phase. Let us not forget the livestock orientation, with the breeding center in Ibecetene, where because of the shortage of pasturage in such zones as Nord-Maradi, where we have a breeding center in Fako, we have had to shift part of the Fako herd to Ibecetene, on the basis of the fact that the pasturage situation there is satisfactory. A special detail: We had occasion to assess the milk production at the breeding centers, a minimum of 1,000 liters per day. The authorities took the initiative, on the basis of the vehicles available and using milk cans, of organizing a supply system for the town of Tahoua, the Abalak administrative station and the capital of the Tchintabaraden district, and we had occasion to assess this, for if in these regions, and God alone knows that each of our departments is equipped with a breeding center--if the others did the same, I think this would after all make a substantial contribution on the nutritional level, above all on the health structures caring for and nourishing the children.

Agriculture is a rather substantial project in the department of Tahoua, whatever the level. As to the state of progress with Konni II, it can if

completed make a total of nearly 2400 hectares available to the people, I think. The second phase will have been carried out I believe toward the second third of the month of June. Some anomalies were noted on the level of the main canals, and there we gave firm instructions, first of all to the representative of the design bureau and also to the Nigerien cadres in the field, not to mention the enterprises. For there can be no question of ill-conceived achievements which will lead to recurrent costs.

In Galmi (245 hectares), it seems to me that a half of the total has already been made available to the people. We had the opportunity to see the first plantings.

The old facilities in the Maggia, from Ibohamane to Tounfafi, have been repaired or rehabilitated, if one can put it thus. This will make it possible through the World Bank and the Central Cooperation Fund to improve production effectively in this zone, which has the natural resources. There is the Tahoua productivity project, within the context of our bilateral cooperation with Germany, involving more than a billion francs, which is being pursued and expanded to a certain number of districts in the Maggia. But above all, we have the Keita integrated development program, with an innovation, aid from Italy to the CILSS countries, a program supervised by the FAO. This project will be carried out on the basis of the development society structures and on the next higher level involved, it is the Regional Development Council, of course, and on the national level, on the level of implementation, there will be a Nigerien director and an Italian technical aid director assigned by the FAO.

I said at the beginning that in the Keita district, the temporary deficit has become a structural one. There is a phenomenon of soil deterioration due to erosion. One of the goals of this project is moreover to combat the deterioration of the soil, and population growth, on the other hand. Since there is very limited arable area, it is necessary there to begin rock removal in order to recover something.

Water Resources Project

Another project in this department has to do with water resources. We have had to pursue this aspect through talks within the framework of Italian aid to the CILSS countries concerning the part falling to Niger, a program called the Keita Water Resources Program, involving a sum of about 9 billion. However we are only at the first discussion stage. The characteristic of the district of Keita, Bouza and even Madaoua is in fact that part of the substratum where the wells are sometimes at depths of up to 65, 70 and even 80 meters. We will adopt a type of well drilling, doubtless within the framework of this program, such that the drilling system can bring the water in a well up to a certain reasonable level.

We also have the village water resources program involving 200 wells, financed by the FRG, and there are also 50 wells within the context of our cooperation with the Aid and Cooperation Fund, and a certain number of drillings--68.

Nor should we forget the urban centers. The Abalak administrative station is already planned, within the context of our cooperation with the BOAD [West African Development Bank], and we will undertake the recovery, if necessary, of the Tassara drilling and a water supply system based on our aid from Denmark. Moreover, in the water resources sector, things are not entirely perfect in the department of Tahoua.

We have made the commitment to supply the village of Takanamat, which has 5,000 inhabitants, and a rather large livestock market. After all, it is a very painful thing to see a village of such size at the mercy of water scarcity.

And we also plan to pursue corrections with regard to a certain number of programs undertaken, that is to say those for which financing has been obtained, although we do not want to exceed the sectors initially established for the pursuit of this work.

Another very important factor in the department of Tahoua is reforestation. We were impressed by the way the authorities have approached and dealt with this very important matter. We can only ask them to continue along this path, and this may serve as an example for certain other regions.

Civic Service

In the social sector, the health structures are developing well. Here and there there is a shortage of Land Rovers for use as ambulances. This is the case in Keita, Abalak and Illela. We will see to what extent the needed measures are taken.

With regard to the schools, what really impressed us, prior to the establishment of civic service, was that our secondary establishments had a substantial contingent of foreigners.

Here we would make a parenthetical comment. We have three kinds of foreigners, if one can put it thus, in the national education sector.

There are those made available to us by other countries, for example France and Germany, within our normal training cooperation plan.

There is a second category made up of teachers Niger has recruited from nation to nation, with contracts signed by the diplomatic representatives. And the third category is those who come here on their own accord to be hired. It is this third category which in fact constitutes the bulk on the level of our secondary schools and the CEG [general education certificates]. I recall that during my last visit to the department of Diffa in 1981, we found 13 nationalities, including Nigeriens, overall, in the Diffa secondary school. What struck us in the department of Tahoua this time is that thanks to the establishment of national civic service, it is sometimes only occasionally that one finds a foreigner in these establishments. And then on the other hand, we had an opportunity to talk with some of these young Nigeriens doing civic service. They have conducted themselves honorably. All of the provisions have been made to provide them with aid and help them in their work.

Decentralization Policy

To be sure, our main concern was to make contact with the development society bodies and the regional and subregional development advisers. We were struck by the level of their awareness. What we need in Niger is the encouragement of a sense of initiative. We have suffered too much from the lack of it. In the field, one sees only the government, the prefect or subprefect or station chief. It is time for us to give consistency to this decentralization policy such that the state, that is to say the government, can have the breadth of great concepts and leave the execution of certain things to the field service level.

On the subject of execution and even supervision, God alone knows how poorly the infrastructures have been established. Both buildings and roads are involved, as is the case with the Keita-Dakoro-Bellbedji segment, which passes through and involves two departments, involving an amount of nearly 4,600,000,000, and 200 and some kilometers. With the first rains, all of the bridges collapsed, because the supervision is exercised from Niamey.

And we concluded there was no reason not to establish this decentralization policy.

And this should be done, moreover, without the addition of supplementary cadres. They have the aid of representatives of the ministries of planning, rural development and public works. Within the context of this decentralization policy, they can appoint a technical committee for supervision, because the infrastructures are established for the benefit of the population. There can be no question of agreement between the gentlemen in Niamey, by means with which we are familiar, with the enterprises or the design or control offices, leaving us with poorly established infrastructures.

From now on, it will be the duty of the regional council (CRD) to conceptualize this decentralization policy in progress now in Dosso, where the championship in the traditional struggle has been under way since the 22nd. The sword lies in the middle of the arena. Who will take it up? This is the picture where the decentralization policy is concerned. It is a kind of combat through competition, both on the subregional and regional levels.

Dedicated Cadres

In conclusion, we noted that the people of Niger, in this instance those of Tahoua, have developed greatly. Doubtless there are problems. But we were greatly impressed by the level of mobilization in the population of Tahoua, both in Tillia and Telemses, not to mention the district and departmental capitals. And we stressed that this mobilization can and must be channeled and placed in the service of development.

We also found a new level of awareness on the part of the cadres on all levels. And this is a very important factor at a time when Niger is embarking upon another phase in its political and economic development. But we also stated that no project can be conceived and carried out, if it does not

have as its support the structures of the development society, above all. And we placed particular stress, in talking with the regional and subregional councils, both in Keita and in Tahoua, on their responsibility for the perfect implementation of the Keita integrated development project. We made a point of thanking them, and this could not be overdone. Whether it be simple citizens (farmers and livestock breeders), the cadres or the officials on all levels, we can only thank them in fact, not, I would say for their increased spontaneity, but for their increased awareness, their realization and understanding that it is for us ourselves to make of Niger what we want it to be."

Administrative Reform

On the subject of our cumbersome administration, the chief of state said in essence: "There is too much time and energy lost where our administrative progress is concerned. And the international community assisting us has commented on this. There is a lack of coordination and harmonization, such that certain projects, even with the financing available to complete the transactions, take 2 years, and during this time the people must wait.

If at the present time we are pursuing the diplomacy of development, our ambassadors are notable as a function of what they are obtaining for the country. This is entirely normal, we have in fact gone beyond the formal dress stage. Our administration is not consistent with our development policy. There is too much centralization and concentration. The prime minister will have much to do: reorganizing an administration reminiscent of times and eras gone by will not be an easy task. But we will make an effort, for it will not be until after such decentralization that our administration can respond to our wish for a development administration.

There is no question of allowing the European Development Fund (EDF) to allocate funds, making them available to Niger for the achievement of projects on which months and even years are wasted in nothing but a paper-shuffling effort. We believe that this is not contemplated at the present time, such is the meaning and the significance we have sought to give the project.

Where billing operations are concerned, I think it is a little too early to make an assessment. There are some even collecting the wages of people who have died, who are blind, who have left their posts, etc.

And at a time when we wanted to undertake the billing operation, there was a considerable volume of comments on it. Some even said that the process was undertaken because the state had no more money in its treasury. Now these people have understood the meaning of this undertaking. It does after all represent a step toward reform in our administration. It is not a question of saying that we must count the employees. This is not the main goal sought in this operation. There are a certain number of factors which Nigeriens will understand. They will then see the justifiable end of this operation where management is concerned, that is to say a good administration.

It is somewhat painful and there is sometimes bitterness in contemplating it, but it is necessary to make an effort so as to complete the file.

It is with such an administration that we will be able to satisfy the needs of the people, for example those in Takanamat and others who are obtaining water from the ponds available to them. Also, sanitary precautions are needed for these ponds, which are likely to dry up toward the month of March, while the international community does have a potential for undertaking drillings and wells. And if we proceed slowly in fact in the specific case of the people of Takanamat, they may perhaps have to wait until the year 2000 or even 3000 before getting their wells."

Commentary

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 28 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by A. Madougou: "Promising Prospects"]

[Text] For an entire week, from 20 to 27 December 1983, the president of the Supreme Military Council toured the department of Tahoua. A visitor discovering the department of Tahoua is struck by the great difference between the North, with its vast pasturelands, where livestock breeding is the main activity, and the South, with its adequate precipitation and land favorable to agriculture.

Tahoua is thus a typical department with agropastoral conditions. For the far north, a sufficient number of wells to supply the human and animal population with water is needed. The chief of state thus concerned himself with the problem of water in the district of Tchintabaraden.

In order to resolve the water problem definitively, a vast program of drilling and well construction will soon be undertaken. For the time being, a certain number of old wells will be rehabilitated. The laudible initiative of the Tchintabaraden Subregional Development Council (CSRD) in deciding that the wells in the district should remain shut down until the month of March, in order to allow rational exploitation of the pastureland, should be noted. The chief of state made a point of congratulating the members of the CSRD on this decision.

The southern part of the department of Tahoua is better suited to agriculture, with the valleys of the Maggia, and the Madaoua and Konni basins, where a large number of development projects are to be found. A third of the developed land in Niger is located in the department of Tahoua. In a meeting with the members of the CSRD in Konni, in particular, the chief of state stressed that the means are now in place: the people must put dedicated effort into their work.

It should be noted that an unprecedented phenomenon will soon be seen in Keita. A project involving many sectors and affecting rural development, health and water resources will be launched in this locality in January, at a cost of 11 billion. The new factor in this project is that it will be entirely managed by the members of the subregional and regional councils. President Kountche drew the attention of the members of these bodies to the responsibility which falls to them. They must demonstrate that they can manage their

own affairs in the spirit of the development society. The whole process of the development society is based on this experiment.

The chief of state stressed the role of the development advisers, who from now on should not let any aspect of life in their regions escape them. The initiative for the activities to be undertaken for their own development falls to them, as do the supervision and control of these projects.

Where decentralization is concerned, the presidents of the regional development councils, in this case the prefects, will have a free hand to make decisions concerning the penalties for or replacement of agents who have been guilty of neglect or incompetence.

The chief of state did not conceal from the Tahoua cadres his satisfaction at the sight, during his tour, of laboring people willing to exploit the natural resources of their department, people combining their efforts with a view to the socioeconomic progress of their region. President Kountche also praised the increased awareness he noted in the departmental cadres, and the self-sacrifice he saw among the departmental officials.

The prospects are promising for the department of Tahoua, which will soon see the launching of Konni II, the rehabilitation of old facilities such as those in Ibohamane, and the Keita integrated development project where agriculture is concerned. In the water resources sector, a vast program will also be under way soon in order to mitigate the water problems in this department, which has the largest herd of livestock in the country. In brief, as the chief of state said, we must have confidence in the future of the department of Tahoua.

5157

CSO: 3419/312

NIGER

KOUNTCHE SPEAKS AT COMMANDING OFFICERS CONFERENCE

Remarks on Arrival in Dosso

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 6/7/8 Jan 84 pp 1,3

[Article by special correspondent Joseph Seydou Allakaye]

[Text] The spotlights on the second traditional wrestling championship match hardly extinguished, Dosso is now doing the honors as the host city of the Commanding Officers Conference. The head of state, who left Niamey early yesterday morning, was welcomed at the department's boundary point by its prefect, Dandi Abarchi, prior to being greeted by a vast crowd that had come to manifest its joy on this solemn occasion. Placards calling for development, national unity, jobs and harmony were to be seen everywhere.

All Dosso had been mobilized to impart to this important event an air of its own.

Opening the Commanding Officers Conference at Dosso's MJC [expansion unknown], President Kountche cited the traditional wrestling championship match as an example of Dosso's loyalty to our traditions of welcome and hospitality. Dosso's population displayed the noble sentiments that motivate it and enabled this event of national scope to take place in a setting of harmony and brotherhood. In this regard, the head of state expressed his highest compliments to the Department of Dosso, to its men and women, to its young and less young, to its administrative and traditional tribal authorities, to its officials, who had spared neither their time, nor their effort, nor their moral and material resources to make of this occasion a resounding success.

The present Commanding Officers Conference, General Kountche explained, is being held at a point in time when, through the grace of the All-Powerful who inspires and protects peoples and nations, the structures of the Development Company have been put in place and the functions of the development councils have been defined. This meeting in Dosso is also being held, more so than have been the preceding ones, at a decisive moment in the history of our

country, at a crucial stage in the destiny of our people. It derives its capital importance from the very reason for being of the role the commanding officers are called upon to fulfill in the conduct of the business of the CND [National Development Council]. Henceforth, the head of state pointed out, it is on the structures of the Development Company that all action of collective interest will be based and that all changes the Nigeriens desire to see undertaken by our country will be made. This in no way deterred President Seyni Kountche, however, from remarking bitterly: "We must have the political courage and intellectual honesty to acknowledge that we have too long suffered from a lack of initiative, from a frustrating wait-and-see attitude whenever, for one reason or another, Niamey has failed to follow through." And the head of state cited some examples of the kind of thing generated by this attitude: A wall is left to crumble; wells are left to choke up. Such behavior must be put an end to forever, said the head of state.

This is, after all, the primary purpose of the Development Company structures. This is why, and above all on the part of development councils at all echelons, the sense of initiative and of responsibility must be inculcated and motivated in each of our communities. Initiative and a sense of responsibility must in turn be manifested in the preservation and consolidation of what has already been accomplished, in the performance of the various tasks that are of interest to the collectivity, and in the sound management and administration of the nation's common inheritance.

Turning to the subject of the decentralization, the head of state indicated that, far from being a renunciation by the state of its sovereign duties, functions and responsibilities, decentralization means, above all, providing an opportunity for responsible behavior on the part of human collectivities, that is generated and abetted by a sudden awakening to the reality of their responsibilities toward the national collectivity as a whole. Thus, it is, in fact, an accurate assessment of what is desirable and what is possible, of what one oneself is capable of undertaking and successfully completing, and of what requires for its accomplishment the bringing of national solidarity to bear.

The notion of decentralization, President Seyni Kountche continued, consequently requires "that each community assume its share of the thoughtful action needed in the difficult but rewarding task of national construction. It thus becomes normal and legitimate for our local communities to be full partners in the socio-educative infrastructures such as the development projects, since the ultimate purpose of these projects is the well-being of these same communities. It must be a partnership, therefore, at all levels: The conception, execution, management and operation and maintenance of these development projects. The notion of decentralization also presupposes the maximization of exploitation of their assets in terms of budgetary resources by the communities."

In this regard, the head of state cited his recent tour in depth of the department of Tahoua, which brought home to him the extent to which the local

administrative authorities are able to put to good account the specificity of their community, no matter how infinitesimal the degree of initiative and imagination they bring to bear. No matter also how little they really care about giving to the populations for which they are responsible the means to satisfy their most fundamental needs. And that is what President Seyni Kountche had in mind as to the responsibility of the commanding officers for the implementation of this policy of decentralization.

It being basic to any decentralization that the prerogatives of the commanding officer be enlarged, every person living within the area of jurisdiction of a commanding officer necessarily comes under the authority of that commanding officer. This prerequisite applies even more specifically to the government employees in the area. Thus, it will no longer be, the head of state made clear, a question of the government staff on the spot carrying out the instructions received from the central sector of the government without first discussing them with the local authority. Similarly, every request for service or for the means of carrying out a service normally operated by the local authority will henceforth become immediately executory without prejudice to the reporting concerning it that must be rendered to the appropriate offices of the government's central sector.

The other heading under which authority will be exercised by commanding officers concerns the coordination and actuation of the services charged with public order and security. Thus and henceforth, no excuse whatever can be invoked by them for not having known of a fact or an occurrence involving the security of our populations. In addition to the forces of the Gendarmerie, the Police, Customs, and Waterways and Forests, commanding officers will have the cooperation and availability of the development councillors.

This responsibility will be ratified in the very near future by the enactment at governmental level of the necessary provisions authorizing commanding officers to make any and all on-the-spot decisions called for by the situation to maintain order and public security.

Commanding officers, who will have a dual function as depositaries of the state's authority and as chairmen of the Development Councils in their circumscriptions, are entrusted with all missions of general interest regardless of how little the latter may conform to the aspirations of our individual populations. Cases in point are: The distribution of supplies in stricken zones; the thinning of herds when required by poor harvest and pasture conditions; the appropriate and systematic application of corrective and free-trade measures in the commercial sector. Thus--President Kountche said--each Regional Council will henceforth be responsible for keeping its region supplied with items of prime necessity. The same will apply in the domains of prevention of fraud, the struggle against alcoholism and gambling, juvenile delinquency, the rural exodus, and problems of hygiene and public health.

All of these responsibilities represent problem areas calling for solutions that require collective efforts backed by programs designed to heighten awareness and convey information.

In sum, no aspect of the lives of our populations is to escape the vigilant and full attention of the commanding officer. Henceforth, President Seyni Kountche emphasized, the commanding officer will be judged by his ability to carry out his responsibilities, his considerateness, his proven dedication to the moral and material well-being of our populations, and to the proven spirit of initiative and creativity he applies to enhancing the operation of the Development Company. For, these are the things that will make him worthy of the greater confidence of the CMS [Supreme Military Council] and of the Government. These are the things that will make him worthy of Niger.

"You will be accorded full freedom of action," the head of state said in his address to the commanding officers, "in the fulfillment of this all-important mission." "However," he told them, "act in total loyalty to your soul and your conscience as devoted patriots desirous of serving and edifying their country. It is to be expected, of course, that your actions, your decisions and the positions you may take will in all cases concord with the ideals that are dear to the CMS, with social justice and with national unity."

Concluding his remarks on social justice, President Kountche said there can be no doubt that in a country like ours social justice is first and foremost a matter of balance and harmony between its citizens and its institutions. "Social peace," the head of state continued, "is--I say it again--but the application of the principles I have talked to you about time and time again. It is by no means superfluous to remind you of them again. For, the decentralization phase on which we are about to embark can in no way tolerate certain attitudes that are damaging to the ethic of social justice.

"Be, therefore, constantly attentive to the voice of those you administer, and in permanent contact with the realities.

"Under all circumstances, be calm but vigilant, enterprising but honest and upright, so that throughout this country the general interest will triumph over special interests, so that the virtues of harmony and brotherhood will continue to inspire your daily actions, thus contributing to the crystallization of the energies of our people on our road to economic and social development."

In his welcoming speech, the prefect of Dosso, Maj Dandi Abarchi, expressed his gratitude for the honor that was bestowed on Dosso permitting it to host the meetings of the Commanding Officers Conference.

"Mr President," said Dosso's prefect, "your presence among us today attests to the constant concern of the CMS and of the Government for bringing the administration and the administered ever closer together."

Following these greetings, Dosso's prefect said: "There can be no doubt of the advantages ensuing from a well-thought-out and controlled regional decentralization. Indeed," Major Dandi continued, "the nonexistence of a true

decentralization in the past has permitted certain failures to take place, and too often the persons actually responsible for them have remained unidentified."

For lack of proper control, many projects have been poorly carried out. "Now," Dosso's prefect continued, "the members of the Development Councils that are to be the principal beneficiaries of these projects will be charged with supervising them."

At the New Year's threshold, Prefect Dandi Abarchi expressed the wish that 1984 will be a year of happiness, prosperity and progress for Niger, for its government and for its people.

After the opening ceremony, the proceedings of the Commanding Officers Conference continued behind closed doors.

We note that the head of state is accompanied by Mr Amadou Fiti Maiga, minister delegate for interior, by the secretary general of the National Council for Development, and by the directors of the Political, Administrative and Trusteeship Directorate in the Ministry of Interior.

Overview of Meeting

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 6/7/8 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by correspondent Abdourhamane Alilou]

[Text] The Commanding Officers Conference, which opened yesterday morning at Dosso, is continuing its work under the chairmanship of the head of state, Gen Seyni Kountche.

Yesterday morning's session was devoted mainly to the question of security (property as well as persons), and yesterday afternoon's session to the Development Company. In the latter regard, the functions of the development councillors, the case of the non-government organizations, mini-projects, and the struggle against depopulation were addressed.

Concerning the first item on the agenda, it should be pointed out that in the absence of security there can be no development. To ensure permanent maintenance of this security, the head of state told the commanding officers that henceforth, "all actions of the forces of order will be placed under the responsibility of the prefects, who are the chairmen of the CRD's [Regional Development Council(s)]."

The CRD being at the core of decentralization, all developmental action must have the backing of the populations concerned, with a view to their active participation. Thus, no developmental action will be undertaken in the departments without the consent of the CRD concerned.

To improve development of the department, it will be necessary, among other things, that the officers be part of every developmental action and that the notion of proper planning be incorporated into every developmental action undertaken in cooperation with the regional officers.

Proper coordination of all developmental actions will also be necessary.

In this regard, the head of state, Gen Seyni Kountche, asked the different CRD's and the different regional and subregional entities to count on their own resources.

With regard to the projects being financed by the ONG's [Non-Governmental Organization(s)], contrary to what has been done heretofore, these projects will henceforth be studied at the departmental level and then forwarded up to the ministry concerned. Speaking of the struggle against depopulation, President Seyni Kountche said the problem must be restudied and the domains of intervention defined, combining all available resources to improve follow-through and control of the actions to be undertaken in this regard.

The idea of creating a national reforestation committee was adopted. The zones to be reforested will be surveyed and the resulting report submitted to the National Council for Development.

Concerning still the Development Company, the head of state told the commanding officers that the time has come, working through the intermediary of the component organizations (of the Development Company), to give the necessary latitude to the populations to enable them to take over their own development.

As to the officers themselves, the head of state told them that two concepts must guide their actions: Boldness and judgement. Sufficient financial and human resources exist to improve the development of our different regions. What is needed, however, as the head of state emphasized, is to apply imaginativeness and creativity to the task at hand.

The prefect, who is the chairman of the CRD, must see to it that all the resources of the region for the development of which he is responsible are combined in such a way as to optimize their exploitation.

In this regard, the head of state indicated that decentralization will mean proving to the government that the regional councils are capable of showing the necessary spirit of initiative, boldness and judgement.

It should be pointed out that, during yesterday's proceedings, the minister of state for planning, Dr Annou Mahamane, and the minister of commerce and transportation, Mr Amadou Nouhou, presented expository talks to the commanding officers.

Minister Annou Mahamane emphasized above all the need to reorient our administration to make it more of a planning administration rather than a project-management administration.

Speaking in regard to the decentralization, Dr Annou Mahamane, pointed out that it has existed in our country since 1969/1970 and that what is involved now is simply an adaptation to the realities of the times.

Minister Amadou Nouhou dwelt on the reorganization of the trade sector, the thinning of herds, hydrocarbons, etc.

He pointed out that the keystone of the new system is the prior authorization to be issued by the CRD and the identification of those authorized to engage in trade for the supplying of communities. This authorization is necessary for enrollment in the Trade Register.

The minister of commerce and transportation indicated that a national file will be instituted in the near future, with a view to listing all merchants and knowing who does what.

9238

CSO: 3419/311

MINISTER DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S POST-INDEPENDENCE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL STATUS

Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 10 Dec 83 p 4

[Interview with Francisco Fortunato Pires, secretary of social, legal and religious affairs, in Cape Verde; date not specified]

[Text] The calmness which is often bestowed upon small countries in which events worthy of the "front page" do not happen prompted us to take advantage of a visit made by a Sao Tome and Principe party delegation headed by Francisco Fortunato Pires, member of MLSTP's [Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe] Central Committee and its secretary for social, legal and religious affairs, to hold a lengthy conversation, aimed at informing our readers of the current economic, political and social situation in that African country located on the Equator.

Francisco Fortunato Pires began by giving us a summary of the country's status 8 years after its independence:

"Insofar as the lack of information is concerned, I consider it absolutely legitimate, in view of the fact that, in media covering events which not only are news, but also evoke the interest of the group of readers, listeners and viewers, Sao Tome and Principe, a country of limited size, covering nearly 1,000 square kilometers, with a population of about 100,000 inhabitants, naturally is not front page news for the press, unless there is some incident or accomplishment of a different kind that truly deserves greater attention in the international press.

"Actually, in 1975, after 5 centuries of colonial domination, we began a long journey in the community of free nations, just as in the case of Cape Verde. And 5 centuries of domination has its price; it is not easy to eliminate its consequences. It is in that task that we are engaged.

"As you know, our country is headed by MLSTP, which is the leading political force of the Sao Tome state. After 1975, in 1978 to be exact, the first assembly of MLSTP was held, something that we consider the most important political event after independence.

MLSTP First Assembly

"The first assembly of the party, as a supreme organ of our vanguard organization, discussed what the nature of our country's development process should be, and determined the goals to be attained during the future in the economic, social, cultural and political realms. The goals to be achieved in all areas will be based on our realities and our facilities.

"After that assembly there began a second phase in our development process; a phase which assumed a new quality starting in 1979, the year in which we launched the First National Economic Plan. The latter also had the features of an experimental plan, and was repeated during 1980, 1981 and 1982, when we started planning in the area of the 4-year development plan that is having its second year in 1983."

[Question] What are the priorities in this Economic Plan?

[Answer] As I said, we started the development plan on a planning basis. Beginning in 1982, when we already had some planning experience, we established some priorities in the economic and social area essentially, in addition to other areas. For example, in the economic area we established or rather lent better format to what we had decided a few days after independence. I have not mentioned the nationalization of agricultural companies, which have been the basis of the exploitation of our people and which, in the context of our economy, represents its base.

Nationalization of the Agricultural Companies

The companies, which occupy three quarters of the national territory, were nationalized because, although we are a farming country unfortunately devoted to growing the single crop of cacao, it is from those companies that we obtain that product for export as a raw material, because we lack structures for its processing. Hence it is from exporting cacao that our economy survives. It is from those exports that we acquire the necessary means for our country's development (the vehicles, machinery, etc.) and for the population's supplies particularly in the area of food; because in the past our people developed eating habits that were nearly all geared to products coming from abroad.

Obviously, during recent years we have had a rather difficult situation, since cacao production has declined, owing mainly to factors of an internal nature. There is also the problem relating to weather. Our country has a rather marked rainfall index, but it has undergone a major tendency toward decreasing; a reduction that has also typified the Sahel countries. Some countries are undergoing more tragic situations than ours; but the fact is that we have recently felt the effects of a certain amount of drought. For example, last year we were hit by a rather serious drought. The rainy season was very short and that created some difficulty in exporting cacao; and concurrently with that, the price of cacao on the international market dropped, something that helped to worsen our economic situation somewhat.

To be sure, our national plan calls for overcoming this situation, either by diversifying crops as an alternative for export or by domestically growing products for the population's consumption. But, as you know, these are projects that take time. We have not yet accrued the results that concern us.

To describe our status after independence, this depicts the current phase. We are in a phase of trying out new projects that will make it possible to solve the problems of the population's survival from the standpoint of food. There is an entire effort to "shift" our population toward the consumption of what we have locally. Fortunately, despite the weather situation, we have land capable of producing enough to meet the population's needs.

[Question] I suppose that when you speak of nationalized companies, you are talking about the former "rural farmlands." What has their output been? Have they had labor problems?

[Answer] I call them companies because, in addition to producing cacao (and even that has now undergone a series of changes), there are other types, also agricultural and livestock in nature. In connection with those companies, following independence we experienced a period of some decline; and that is explained, on the one hand, by the fact that those companies were owned by the colonists who recently stopped investing and only collected the output. On the other hand, we inherited outworn infrastructures in some companies. They are infrastructures which require heavy investments and, during the first years of independence, we were not in a position to make them. This is one of the reasons that caused them to undergo a certain amount of decline. There was also the management itself. Some difficulties are still present now, but they are tending to normalize with the training of cadres who have assumed the administration of those companies. Another feature is their reconversion *per se*, because we have continued with the single crop of cacao, which does not solve our problem from a future standpoint. Hence we are bent upon a policy of diversifying crops, so as to enable those companies to be more viable.

Of course the companies, in addition to being infrastructures and a major economic instrument, play other roles in our country. They also constitute a social medium, because in addition to the production facilities, the companies gather within them communities of workers and their respective families, who also live there. This obviously poses social problems, not to mention the social problems in the area of their place of residence. Hence our policy is aimed at solving these problems.

Free Medical-Health Assistance

Immediately after independence, we decided to nationalize the health sector, which to us means access to health for the entire population: free medical and health assistance, and assistance in the form of medicines. To accomplish this we have had to make deepseated changes in the health area; for example, its decentralization and the creation of health zones, which make it possible to link the population to specific areas. Obviously, for this we have taken heed of the work to train cadres.

In the field of education, we have had to set some priorities, such as the one in the area of training cadres.

To us, educating also entails the creation of structures (specifically, schools, institutions for technical instruction, etc.).

Sao Tome and Principe had only one high school, and during recent years we have been creating and decentralizing education so as to enable the population located away from the main centers to have access to education.

With regard to advanced training, thus far we have sent our cadres abroad, owing to the lack of suitable institutions.

In the area of technical education, we have been creating facilities all over the country to deal with the highest priority areas. For example, we intend to open an intermediate-level institution next year to offer training in the agricultural field, which we regard as a top priority, based on our status as an agricultural country. We have also made accelerated training periods available, both internally and externally, so as to be able to solve our country's development problems.

I also deem it important to mention that we have started a program to reform education, so that the students entering our educational institutions may acquire a level of education equivalent to the ministerial one in other countries, so that those who must continue their studies abroad will not meet with major difficulties, as was the case during the first years of independence.

Nonalignment the Basis of the Foreign Policy

As in the other areas, our country's foreign policy is determined by our party. We have a policy of nonalignment, which is rather important to us considering the present situation. As a small country which wants to develop in a peaceful and balanced manner, we consider nonalignment to be really the best option.

In the realm of foreign relations, naturally we have relations with various countries, attaching priority to our relations with the countries that are members of the former CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies), as holds true of Cape Verde; and our visit is in that context, to become better acquainted with one another, because although we have traditional relations, the fact is that, while each is familiar with its own situation, it has minimal knowledge of what is happening on the other side.

We also consider it important to develop relations with the neighboring countries, and it is in this context that, this year, we are starting a diplomatic offensive on the level of head of state, to some neighboring countries, namely, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Congo.

We have relations with the socialist countries. We consider those relations to be important as well. They are countries which, after all, played a leading

role in the liberation process. They are like natural allies, and therefore we pay particular heed to those relations.

We also cooperate with the Western countries. There are countries with which we have traditional relations on the commercial level; countries which import our products and from which we import goods to supply our country.

The Scandinavian countries (and not only they) are in this category, and we also think that those relations should be maintained and developed.

To be sure, we have diversified relations with a group of countries, based upon our interests.

We have relations with certain countries in the diplomatic area. Some have ambassadors accredited to our country, and have opened missions; and we too have some missions (a few), but insofar as possible, in certain countries.

[Question] You say that the countries import Sao Tome's products. We would like to know what products Sao Tome exports and imports, as well as the status of supplies in your country.

[Answer] The supply problem is interrelated with the production problem, since we, as a country producing and exporting raw material, the importing of which is virtually dependent on that exporting, we have, as I said before, been experiencing a rather difficult situation. The production volume has declined and, on the other hand, the prices of our products on the international market have dropped, while the prices of the products that we import are rising. All those factors have caused our importing capacity to decline as well.

The leading export product is cacao, but we also export copra, coconuts and cinchona bark [quinine]; and, in the context of our diversification of crops, we are considering exporting bananas, because we have good facilities for producing them.

Well, we import nearly everything, from grain, oils and fabrics to machinery, vehicles, tools, fixtures, fuel, etc. Obviously, a country in our state of development is forced to import everything.

2909

CSO: 3442/112

'DISTURBING' ASPECTS SEEN IN RESCHEDULING OF FOREIGN DEBTS

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 23-25 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Pathe Mbodje: "Go Into Debt; the Club de Paris Will Help You"]

[Text] It was finally without difficulty that Senegal yesterday managed to obtain the rescheduling of its foreign debt for the 1983-1984 fiscal year. Its 11 Western creditors have agreed to spread the debt out over 9 years with a 4-year grace period.

It was without difficulty because the logic is that of international capitalism of avoiding a crisis of overproduction by forcing others further into debt so as to be able to market the production of Western countries, especially since a recovery is expected for next year. Everyone is therefore happy because by helping Senegal to go further into debt, the West helps itself avoid the possible social problems that would result from a production crisis.

"It is absurd for people to try to get their very last penny out of countries in debt by preventing them from getting on their feet again and benefiting from the international recovery."

Coming from a financial expert trained in the lap of the World Bank and who is the Senegalese minister of finance to boot, this statement is disturbing, especially when it is made, as in this case, after the agreement made yesterday, Wednesday, 21 December, in Paris between Senegal and its main Western partners meeting at the Club de Paris.

It is disturbing because it follows the logic of international capitalism of avoiding crises of overproduction because the Third World market-countries are too far in debt to continue and because their purchasing power is nil, having failed to pay previous debts.

But that need be no obstacle, say the planners of international capitalism. From the standpoint of the development of that type of production and out of fear of the "hand of Moscow," those planners have advanced the idea of the forced indebtedness of Third World countries so as to avoid both the overproduction crisis and such great poverty in the Third World that the hardest hit countries would be pushed into the arms of Moscow.

The position of the minister of economy is equally false because he himself admits that after several years of drought, "the emergence from the crisis should not come before 1986." What Toure forgot to point out is that the West will soon emerge from "its" crisis, since the projections are favorable for it for 1984. Not for Senegal, however.

One is therefore allowed to doubt the good faith of the representatives of the creditor countries when they call themselves "very sensitive" to the recovery efforts undertaken by the Senegalese Government and when they deem it "timely" to make a "positive" contribution to improving the foreign payment prospects of that country in order to facilitate the recovery of the Senegalese economy.

The "comprehension" in the Gaullist sense of the term demonstrated by the Club de Paris members with regard to Senegal is most dubious. Toure, who has just met with Club members, knows very well, in fact, that his desire that "there be no more 'Club de Paris' on Senegal" is false modesty because with the international banks joined together in the Club de London, Senegal is scheduled to sign on 18 January an agreement identical to the one signed on Wednesday. This time, the rescheduling will stretch over 7 years for payments due from 1 July 1983 to 30 June 1984, totaling 37 billion CFA francs. (AFP).

550 Billion in Debts

The agreement to be signed on 8 January by Senegal with international banks belonging to the Club de London will involve 37 billion CFA francs. They will be added to the 30 billion covered by the recent meeting in Paris and Wednesday's agreement.

Senegal's total foreign debt is nearly 550 billion francs, including some 67 billion (nearly 13 percent) owed to the International Monetary Fund.

It will be recalled that the Senegalese Government wanted to absorb the deficit by the application of a certain austerity policy. The latter was mainly comprised of increases in prices on several basic products, particularly rice, oil, sugar and oil products.

11,464

CSO: 3419/315

MDP ATTRIBUTES CASAMANCE EVENTS TO GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 30-31 Dec 83 p 6

[Statement by People's Democratic Movement (MDP), 17 December]

[Text] The verdict of the State Security Court has come in!

Senegalese from Casamance accused of separatist activities received heavy prison sentences and fines.

As expected, the verdict did not pacify anyone in Casamance. The forces of law and order dispatched in large numbers to the southern capital fired upon the demonstrators.

If one is to believe the government, some 100 persons were wounded and as many arrested. But since official sources have accustomed us to half truths, the number of victims is probably much larger.

We deplore the fact that persons died on both sides, the victims of a reprehensible policy. But will people be naive enough to believe that it is the epilogue of an affair whose roots plunge deeply into the mixed, profound and strong feelings of frustration and difference experienced by its initiators?

No one is unaware that the specificity of Casamance inspired into the cautious colonizer the granting to that land the status of special administration placed under the authority of a higher administrator with the powers of vice governor.

Nor is anyone unaware that the road that led Senegal to the modern nation it has become was not without obstacles and that the laborious gestation of national unity, including an adventuresome policy followed for two decades that could not maintain its thrust, encountered noted resistance. The violence of recent days was therefore foreseeable, especially since the warnings of the MDP were not few in number. More than once it denounced the policy of abandonment and betrayal to which this region with such varied potential has been subjected.

Only recently, episodes of unrest have pointed to devastating storms.

The indifference of the central government finally exacerbated a feeling of difference, irrepressible at the outset, whose manifestations of protest we have just witnessed.

The continuation of a heavy military presence for the past year has not helped calm people down since the incidents of December 1982.

The violation of the Holy Wood did not rouse better feelings toward the sacriligious intruders representing a disrespectful government. Is one to interpret as progress on the part of the government the absence of Qadhdhafi's or a foreign hand in the charges against the Diabir rebels?

If it is confirmed that the French Army is patrolling along Cape Skring, such a point of view is to be rejected while, on the other hand, there is a clear danger of absurd disorders that might break out in the south.

Therefore, faced with the undeniable gravity of the situation, the MDP, denouncing the blind, laxist policy of the government expressed in a dangerous, unjust and frustrating imbalance of the country's economic and social development, the MDP demands the immediate cessation of the repression unleashed against the rebellious people and the unconditional release of prisoners and persons being held, the withdrawal of the army from the invaded sanctuary and the immediate implementation of a policy of appeasement.

⊙ Nevertheless, convinced that what is happening in Casamance is attributable to a generally antinational policy of that same government, which challenges all patriots and all democrats, the MDP calls upon them to strengthen the ranks of the forces of change and to unite to safeguard national unity and ensure the advent of a modern, democratic, independent and strong Senegalese nation.

Dakar, 17 December 1983
The People's Democratic Movement (MDP)
26 December 1983

11,464
CSO: 3419/315

SOUTH AFRICA

INCREASING NUMBER OF YOUTHS REFUSING MILITARY SERVICE

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 23 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by Villy Vestergard and Regner Hansen: "More and More Youths Are Becoming Conscientious Objectors in South Africa"]

[Text] Despite indoctrination more and more white youths are seeing through the regime's racism and refusing to participate in the war against the blacks and the peoples of neighboring lands.

London--The best defense is an attack. The racist regime in South Africa rests on the support of the country's flimsy white minority and therefore seems to comply with the well-known adage.

The Pretoria government is waging war on several fronts. First and foremost against the overwhelming black majority in the country itself. Moreover, the regime has occupied Namibia in order to secure for itself access to the attractive natural riches in this neighboring country. And it frequently forays into several of the so-called hostile frontline states, Angola and Mozambique, among others.

"We find ourselves in political, economic, ideological and military circumstances which are generally linked to a state of war," admitted South Africa's military chief in 1977.

The state of war naturally presupposes a well-manned and well-equipped military. The regime has increased its military strength enormously in recent years. And it is estimated that in the army alone a reserve of half a million trained soldiers has been built up; of these there are 200,000 on duty.

Up until recently all were exclusively white, but in keeping with the expanded rights of the colored sections of the population, nonwhites are also being taken into the army.

More and more white youths are refusing to take part in the regime's racist wars. Some publicly oppose drafting to military service, others go

underground, and still others leave the country--knowing full well that they may never be able to return home.

Some South African exiles settle in adjacent countries or take up residence in the United States or Australia. Most of them, however, go to Amsterdam or London. Several hundred South African conscientious objectors are living in the British capital alone. INFORMATION has talked with one of them, 23-year-old Gordon Hudson, who left his family in Durban and came to London via Zimbabwe a year ago.

"South Africa's military serves solely a destructive purpose," says Gordon and refers to the state of war. "By joining the army you become a part of this enormous war machine, whether you are in combat or not. And I cannot see myself in that role."

Disliked the Regime

Gordon Hudson made up his mind at a fairly early age to be a conscientious objector.

"When I was 12 or 13, I started to become dissatisfied with the society I lived in. At that time I still didn't understand how it worked. But I sensed that it worked in a way that I didn't like, and that the army was a party of this society. As I grew older, this attitude only became clearer."

Youths Are Indoctrinated

Gordon found reason to doubt what he learned from the media and in school.

"There is certainly very little information you can get about what the army is up to. South Africa is a very strongly censored country. A series of laws restricts information about army-related matters.

"For example, in 1975 most South Africans didn't know that South Africa had invaded Angola until several months after the fact. The news was held back.

"Another thing is that the casualty figures for whites are glossed over. According to the official statistics more white soldiers are killed in accidents than in combat. The regime will not take responsibility for the costs.

"In school you're also misled. In my history books it says that most of South Africa was uninhabited when the whites came. And that whites have just as much right to the land as blacks. And this in spite of the fact that everyone knows that originally there were native Africans in this territory, so-called Hottentots and Bushmen--who are now practically wiped out--and various Bantu tribes.

"I was told that for one reason or another black Africans just naturally wish to live in small, poor, hunger-stricken homelands. That the tribe principle is incredibly important to them. And this regardless of the fact that blacks are forcibly transferred hundreds of kilometers from their homes to areas where they've never lived before. And irrespective of the fact that the tribe principle is no longer important, especially for blacks in the cities, where it is on the verge of obliteration.

"The regime exploits the cultural differences between blacks and whites to get people to believe that blacks are lazy. When the two populations live apart, it's easy to convince the whites of the inferiority of blacks. The whites are fed lie after lie, which increases their lack of understanding, which often turns into hate."

Gordon believes that most whites are indoctrinated to such a degree that they are beginning to believe it is right to join the army.

"People are becoming very selfish. The army is fighting to preserve white supremacy. Most people advocate this policy, even though they know it's morally reprehensible."

Brutality in the Army

His brother has served in the military, and he has friends who are in the army.

"The new inductees are treated like animals. They learn that who they are is not the essential thing, because they are going to serve South Africa and follow orders blindly. There's a lot of brutality in the army because the war is unjustified, and so on moral grounds it can be difficult to motivate young people. There have been stories recently about some who died in training exercises because their superiors were ruthless. There have been several examples of soldiers slain in military guardhouses."

Two Years' Service or Imprisonment

White youths are being called up when they finish school. Continuation of studies can postpone service for a few years, however.

Military service has recently been increased from one to two years. The following eight years these whites will be in the civil defense, which means up to a three-month reinduction into the army each year.

Gordon Hudson saw no possibility for remaining in South Africa by going underground and in that way avoiding military service, the way a good many white youths are doing. He chose to leave the country. He was then aware that it meant he could probably never return. Even though now in exile he has to admit that living with this thought is a different story. And then there was the threat of punishment if he had remained.

Until now conscientious objectors have risked up to two years' imprisonment. If upon release they still refused to serve, they would be resentenced. There is new legislation in the pipeline which raises the punishment to six years in prison!

To be sure, only a very small percentage refuses to serve. "But the war is getting worse, and the regime wants to make certain that the whites continue to take an active part in the defense of apartheid," explains Gordon.

"Stay!" Said Parents and Friends

His parents are affluent--like the majority of whites. His father is an economist, his mother a nurse. They felt he ought to have gone into the army.

"My parents were not happy that I left South Africa. It would mean that I couldn't be together with them, and they were afraid that I'd never be able to come home again. But they realized that they saw the situation from another angle and left it entirely up to me to make the decision.

"Most of my friends also felt that I should stay. I have several who are in the army, while one has left the country. But they also supported me in the sense that the decision had to my own."

Gordon applied for a visa to Zimbabwe well before his drafting. The "escape" was very undramatic. He merely took a seat in the train to Harare. Gordon lived for months in Zimbabwe's capital city in order to save up money for a plane ticket to London. He has always wanted to come to Great Britain and, moreover, believed he had heard there were other South African conscientious objectors here.

In accordance with a United Nations resolution, conscientious objectors have the status of political refugees, and Gordon expects to receive a permanent residence permit soon. When it comes through, he wants to begin studying to obtain a skill, so that he can go back to Africa in a few years. An African country other than South Africa.

Both a South African and a Conscientious Objector!

It seems to him that it has been relatively easy to get accustomed to life in exile.

"It's strange, but I have adapted. Many here know nothing about the conditions in South Africa. So their reaction is: Well, you're from South Africa. That sounds interesting! Others, who know more about the situation, are uneasy, but when I explain about my background, they loosen up. And they support me. I'm not just a South African, I'm a South African conscientious objector," says Gordon, who still feels a responsibility toward his native country.

He participates in the work of COSAWR [Committee on South African War Resisters], the organization for the South African conscientious objectors in London and Amsterdam. It gives him an identity. At the same time he is able to have a hand in informing the outside world about the conditions in South Africa.

The Whites Will Fight to the Finish

Gordon Hudson is not very keen on predicting South Africa's future. He believes that a revolution will occur someday, but first the regime will presumably become even more militaristic.

"The whites live in a kind of imaginary dream world. They prefer not to think about the future. But when they realize there's no end to the war, I believe that they will take up arms in preparation for the definitive battle rather than seek a compromise with the blacks."

12327

CSO: 3613/67

JUSTICE MINISTER SPEAKS OUT ON REVOLUTIONARY COURTS

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 27 Dec 83 pp 1, 8, 9, 12

[Report on 24 December press conference of Minister of Justice Raymond Train Poda]

[Text] The People's Revolutionary Courts (TPR) will come into session at the People's Palace on Tuesday in Ouagadougou for the purpose of trying officials of the Third Republic and members of the Military Committee for National Recovery and Progress (CMRPN). Who else will come before the TPR? What kind of sentences will be meted out? Why are the members of the CDR [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution] on the TPR? These and many other questions were answered by the keeper of the seals, Minister of Justice Raymond Train Poda, at the press conference he held on Saturday, a summary of which follows.

In addition, the report on the last weekly Cabinet meeting contained the order concerning the judges, military men and CDR delegates who will serve on the TPR. The text of that order, which was also promised, will be revealed.

Before turning the floor over to newsmen, Minister Poda recalled the different texts concerning the People's Revolutionary Courts and defined their spirit.

Following his initial statements, Minister Poda answered newsmen's questions.

The first matter put to him involved the outcome of the trials, given the makeup of the People's Revolutionary Court, most of whose members do not belong to the judiciary.

In his answer, the minister of justice said that the goal sought is to enable the people to judge those who, throughout 23 years of independence, have helped humiliate and impoverish them. In other words, it is not only up to the magistrates to know who embezzled. Rather, anyone can know this and report the fact.

The minister also stated that those who might think that the quality of the ruling will necessarily be poor are in error. He indicated that the judges delegated from the CDR are aided by professional judges and can hand down good rulings.

[Question] Who will institute legal action and put together the cases to be brought before the TPR?

[Answer] On that point, I have cited Article 43 of the order establishing the procedure to be applied before the TPR.

The minister then quoted the order relating to the matter:

"Government attorneys are to inform the attorney general of violations of the law named in Article 2 of Order No 83-015 CNR/PRES of 19 October 1983, brought to their attention by complaints, denunciations, reports and information.

"In other words, anyone may go before the court to say that he has observed some irregularity in his department.

"Today, the CDR are asked to report any malfeasance observed in the districts. Complaints may therefore be lodged on behalf of the people by anyone."

The minister also said that any person making a complaint must provide proof and that if the complaint is written, it must necessarily be signed by the plaintiff. This is to avoid capricious denunciations or complaints for the sake of revenge.

[Question] We know that the trials are to begin on 3 January 1984. May we expect them to be on the radio and television and be held in public places such as the Place de la Revolution?

[Answer] I was just saying that we must avoid injecting passion into the debate. We are trying to solve problems and do not have the time. This is not entertainment. In order to solve this problem correctly, we must avoid unnecessary publicity. The national and international press would use it in a certain way.

The trials will begin on 3 January 1984 at the People's Palace in Ouagadougou and at Halls of Justice elsewhere.

Going on to speak about the absence of the death penalty and hard labor in these trials, Minister Poda said that the CNR [National Council of the Revolution] wants to have a humanitarian revolution and therefore does not want such penalties unless forced to have recourse to them.

The penalties inflicted will essentially be expropriation and fines.

In his introduction, the minister said that the CDR were facing the problem with minimum preparation and, at the same time, appealed to the Upper Voltan people to make more accurate reports of those embezzling from them.

Newsmen then asked whether such denunciations would not complicate the trials. The keeper of the seals said they would not.

[Question] Will the pardon which the convicted party may, according to the law, seek from the chief of state, not disappoint the TPR that handed down the sentence, if the pardon is obtained?

[Answer] The president, who is the highest jurisdiction, is also the legitimate representative of the people and will therefore always take the interest of the people into account.

In answer to the question of why it was decided to try only the officials of the Third Republic and the CMRPN, Poda replied that there is one principle: "The law says that once the judgment has been handed down, it is no longer possible to go back on it. That is why the members of the First Republic can no longer be tried." (This is what is known as "res judicata.")

[Question] What is the reason for the suspension of those to be tried? Does this mean that after their trial, the suspension will be lifted or maintained?

[Answer] Naturally, no person convicted of embezzlement may under any circumstances return to his post. On the other hand, those not found guilty of embezzlement or other misappropriations will be able to continue to serve after the trial.

Minister Poda also stated that civil servants released or retired may come before the TPR if mentioned on the release lists "To be prosecuted."

This is so because such civil servants have been properly removed for the misappropriation of public monies.

Speaking of the freeze placed on the accounts of such persons, the minister said that everything possible has been done to prevent such persons who owe the people from fleeing with what they embezzled. The minister added that there is no set amount based on which embezzlers may come before the TPR, but rather, that it is the gravity of the act of embezzlement that is considered. Accomplices receive the same penalty as guilty parties inasmuch as it is known that certain acts of embezzlement were carried out with the complicity of merchants or other civil servants and officials.

Before concluding his press conference, the minister returned to the subject of the order concerning amnesty for violations committed previous to 4 August 1983 at the request of newsmen. He said that the order had been extended to swindling and to the issuance of checks without funds because, he said, the two go together and because there must be no measures aimed at freeing relatives. The minister was referring to the major Biv case involving Michel Kpoda.

11,464
CSO: 3419/320

PROBLEMS IN HIGHER, UNIVERSITY EDUCATION DESCRIBED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 6, 7, 8, 9 Dec 83

[Articles by Prof Mononi Asuka Ngongo, member of the Central Committee of the MPR]

[6 Dec 83 pp 1, 7]

[text] For 2 years, it has been common to see the school year begin and end without any assessment being made of the real problems in higher and university education.

All energies are focused each year on placement, enrollment, repairs, wage scales, etc.

It is true that these problems are important and that adequate solutions must be found for the proper advance of higher and university education, but we do not believe that they are the most important in our higher and university education sector.

The real problems in this realm are very numerous. We will note only a certain number of them, those which seem to be the most basic.

In 1981 and 1982, the Central Committee of the Popular Movement of the Revolution launched a great reform in higher and university education, both with regard to the structure and the role of the university in society, and the profile of the graduates to be trained.

It is necessary to note with regret that only the "structural" aspect was the focus of specific actions by the public authorities (autonomous institute and university administration, decentralization), while the other facets of reform remained a dead letter. These are the aspects we would like to discuss here.

The problem becomes very complicated, moreover, when higher and university education must be situated within the framework of a society which has chosen economic liberalism as the philosophy for its economic and social development.

1. The Structure of Higher and University Education

At the end of the 1982-83 school year, we saw what was practically wholesale slaughter where failure was concerned, above all in the lower classes. And

as the political authorities did not seem to be interested in this kind of problem, no analysis was undertaken of the reasons for this situation. This leads observers to presume that there is not, on the state level, any general policy for the higher and university education sector, with the unhappy consequence that we are likely to experience the same situation every year.

Far from pretending to understand all of the reasons for these failures, which are certainly complex, multiple and multifaceted, we nonetheless believe that it is possible to note, among these causes, the very structure of education in Zaire.

In fact, acceptance on the higher and university education level is currently dependent on obtaining the state diploma, on the basis of percentages (less than 60 percent for the higher institutes, and more than 60 percent for the university).

This fact alone means that the population qualifying for higher and university education is increasing each year in relation to the material infrastructure, which for its part, is not only not increasing, but is deteriorating year after year.

Now the political and social pressures being what they are, it has become impossible to adhere to the acceptance requirements for the higher institutes and universities, such that the classrooms have become overcrowded, by this very fact making the conditions under which the professors must transmit knowledge more difficult (imagine a first-year graduate class in economic science or medicine with 600 students in a classroom built for 100).

What then would this situation be in 5 or in 10 years, if adequate and rational measures are not adopted? Among such measures, one might contemplate new criteria for university acceptance and the regionalization of higher and university education.

[7 Dec 83 pp 1, 8]

[Text] 2. The Cost of Higher and University Education

The following is the second part of the interesting analysis of the problems in higher and university education from the pen of an eminent specialist in this field.

Higher and university education is costly, if the goal is to train the competent and qualified cadres the country needs. This is why, the world over, except in the socialist countries, the cost of higher and university education has never been the concern of the state alone.

In fact, if there is a desire to maintain the level and quality of higher and university education (libraries, books, periodicals, laboratories, scientific equipment, lectures, exchange of professors), the state budgets cannot cover the entire cost of higher and university education.

Unfortunately, as a result of demagogic and supposedly "revolutionary" policies, many governments in Africa have attempted to offer higher and university education practically free. (In certain countries, the costs of education have reached the economically intolerable level of 30 percent.) Now, according to international norms, the duty of the state involves teaching its citizens to read and write, that is to say enabling them to complete at least the primary educational cycle.

It is therefore this cycle which should be free. As a result, those who would like to carry their studies further must bear a major part of the costs. This is precisely the opposite of what occurs in many African countries, Zaire in particular.

It is thus, for example, that the very high costs for nursery, primary and secondary schooling are tolerable, but the high price of higher and university education seems scandalous.

Up to the present, the student in Zaire has paid 150 zaires in teachers' fees, and this same amount has been maintained this year, although the currency has been adjusted. At the same time the student must have transportation, must have two meals per day, needs books, periodicals, magazines, laboratories and scientific equipment, and has medical fees.

Let us admit that it is truly a question of a demagogic, not to say ostrich-like policy. We are aware that this is a problem of great sensitivity for parents, the majority of them being in the poorer classes.

But, given the current cost of life in general, and the need to maintain the level and quality of higher and university education in particular, one can hardly see how it is possible to avoid paying for a major part of the cost of students' education, unless we are willing to make of our higher institutes and our universities "specialized" secondary schools.

It serves no good purpose to seek to conceal a problem which will certainly make itself evident in the near future.

Finally, since higher and university education has a national purpose, the entire national community should participate in the functioning and the financing of this sector. This is what is being done, moreover, through the university foundations, the private foundations or societies, and the gifts and private individuals' gifts and bequests.

However in Zaire, everything functions as if higher and university education were the special preserve for which the state alone is responsible. Now from time to time there are "grand prizes" from this or that company or gifts to this or that performer, but rarely do they go for higher and university education.

One would indeed like to know, since our present philosophy of economic and social development is based on private enterprise, what role this sector should play in the development of national education, the foundation of our economic, social, cultural, scientific and technological development.

In this connection, we should note that there already is in Zaire a university foundation for the purpose of seeking financial aid for higher and university education. Practically no major reaction on the part of our businessmen in connection with this foundation has been seen as yet.

Our own experience abroad has shown us that the various national communities are proud of their universities, and have done everything to keep them competitive on the national level. It is regrettable to note that the only times when the citizens of Zaire take an interest in the universities are when it comes to enrollment or examinations.

This leads us to the subject of the university in society.

[8 Dec 83 pp 1, 7]

[Text] 3. The Role of the University in Society

If there is a sector in which there is total agreement, it has to do with the role of the university in the development of society. In fact, both the defenders and the critics of the university sector recognize that it is among the major factors in political, economic, social, cultural, spiritual, scientific and technological development.

Where Zaire is concerned, we find this consensus in the N'Sele Manifesto and in a number of the actions taken by the public authorities, who recognize that the intellectual level of the country dictates its development. It is doubtless for this reason that the country's authorities are sparing no effort to develop our higher and university education system, which trains the majority of our higher cadres in all sectors.

If all of the theoretical intentions were to be implemented in reality, the efforts of the authorities would work toward a constant rise in the quality and the level of this education, both on the level of programs and infrastructures and with regard to the material and social conditions for the teaching and scientific personnel, as well as those in the logistic support sector.

But in reality, things are not going as they should. In fact, the limited appeals to or requests of the university for the solution of our problems give the impression that society in Zaire relies very little on the universities as a factor in resolving our problems.

One of the proofs of this is the failure to use the finalists at the higher institutes and universities. In fact, university graduates only rarely and with difficulty find employment in Zairian society, while every year that society spends tremendous sums (at least in the repair sector) for the maintenance of its higher and university education system.

Moreover, the treatment given those responsible for imparting the sciences, the members of the scientific and teaching bodies, seems to confirm the view that the universities play no role in the economic and social development of the country.

Pursuing elementary logic, one cannot hope to have quality education if the leading artisans in this sector are regarded as second-class citizens.

In fact, all feelings set apart, the fate of the teacher in Zaire is not very enviable, and if the concept of the educational decline has any meaning, one must find one of the explanations in the living conditions for teachers.

If we realize, for example, that a "real professor" must subscribe to at least one scientific periodical in his field, must follow the developments in that field through other publications and scientific gatherings and must participate in research, one can clearly understand that the professor cannot readily be compared to just any government employee, since the duties and the working conditions of the two categories are not dictated by the same professional requirements.

[9 Dec 83 pp 1, 7]

[Text] 4. Conclusion

Based on all of the preceding, it seems to us that the Zairian university sector cannot be saved by circumstantially based measures. It will be necessary, on the contrary, to have a whole national policy for higher and university education, to establish priorities and to attempt to implement them in rational fashion.

In fact, one can see that the Zairian state does not have a consistent policy, whether it is a question of training programs, the financing of the university and higher education system, or the use made of the universities, its graduates and professors.

This partially explains the fact that the same problems arise every year (strikes by the students and the administrative, academic and scientific personnel). For, as we have seen earlier, the academic authorities are more concerned with secondary problems (placement, repairs, charter planes, scholarships, in fact everything which is immediately and financially profitable) than with the real problems which justify the existence of a higher and university education system.

It suffices to glance at the budget for higher and university education to understand the scope of our concern. In fact, the bulk of the budget goes for repairs, the balance being distributed between wages and operational costs, while research benefits form but a minimum portion of the budget.

Now one cannot conceive of the university's existence without basic or applied research. Not only is it the foundation for the political, economic and social development of the country, but it is also an indispensable support for education.

Unfortunately, all of these factors are crowned by a dangerous laxity when it comes to the students who, taking the university for a charitable establishment, have a biological inclination to destroy everything. We believe that

it is time to undertake profound reflection in order to diagnose accurately the evils from which our higher and university education system suffers. It is necessary above all to cease to regard the university as a tourist center to which anyone at all may go simply because he has passed the state examinations. It is common in all countries, even the most revolutionary, for the universities to be reserved for an elite.

The problem is the more serious where Zaire is concerned, since we learn from the Executive Council that recruiting has in principle been suspended. Now if this is the case, what reason is there to continue to train cadres which will be unable to contribute to the development of the country?

This factor alone suggests that the problem of higher and university education should be regarded as most urgent and extremely important to Zairian society.

5157

CSO: 3419/248

MUGABE CALLS FOR UNITY AT PREFERENTIAL TRADE AREA MEETING

Harare THE HERALD in English 21 Dec 83 p 1

[Text]

THE Preferential Trade Area cannot afford to fail in its commitment to progress and peaceful development through unity, and it must prove it is worthy of help and support, the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe said yesterday.

Closing the second meeting of the PTA in Harare, Cde Mugabe, who is now the chairman of the organisation, said PTA member states had committed themselves to the urgent need for the establishment of a new international economic order, and to make industrialised nations aware of the dangers their intransigence and selfishness "on this vital issue pose to the whole concept of international peace and security".

"We have recognised the need for the re-orientation, or even the complete restructuring of the international financial institutions which have now become so dictatorial and unyielding in their approach to providing assistance to the poorer nations. Their conditions and prerequisites could prove to be more harmful to the recipient country than the financial crisis that country is seeking to overcome by

applying for the assistance.

HEADWAY

"It is only through organisation that we can hope to make any headway at all in our attempts to convince the industrialised, rich nations, of the extreme folly of their present posture.

"By their arrogant and cynical attitude towards us, those industrialised nations have, in fact, thrown us a challenge. They have dared us to succeed, and this is the challenge which, I feel, we have now taken up in earnest," said Cde Mugabe.

The PTA was probably the most ambitious project of its kind in the world — given the area covered by member states, the diversity of cultures and people, and even, given the incredible pressures and forces militating and conspiring, from within and without, against that very success it now sought.

Given the member states' over-riding commitment to progress and peaceful development through unity and commitment to Africa, there was no way the organisa-

tion could afford to fail. Member states must not allow themselves to be deviated from their chosen course by extraneous factors and influences, said the Prime Minister.

"I have spoken of the need for us to help ourselves, which includes our ability to prove to others, via the success of the PTA, that we are, in fact, worthy of help and support.

"We, in the southern half of PTA, have already made notable progress, via SADCC, towards a lessening of our economic dependence upon Pretoria, and it is our ardent wish that the development of the PTA will help accelerate that process.

"It is now abundantly clear that after those few rather hesitant and, at the time, none-too-encouraging first steps, the PTA, as an organisation, has now set sail in earnest and is charting a course which, if we manage to hold it — and hold it we must — will surely lead us all into a more prosperous, more harmonious future, to the lasting benefit of all our people."

JAPAN GRANTS LOAN FOR MAZOWE EARTH SATELLITE STATION

Harare THE HERALD in English 22 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Zimbabwe will become the communications centre of Southern Africa once it has its own earth satellite station, Japan's Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Seiken Sasaki, said in Harare yesterday.

Mr Sasaki yesterday signed a \$11.6 million loan agreement with Zimbabwe in the form of an exchange of letters for financing the construction and installation of the Mazowe earth satellite station.

Work on the new station is expected to start in February next year and it will be operational in April 1985.

According to the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero, and the Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, the station will go a long way to lessening Zimbabwe's dependency on South Africa in telecommunications.

Cde Shamuyarira said the present set-up was not secure because communications from Zimbabwe could be monitored.

The agreement provides for a soft loan with a 4.75 percent rate of interest and is repayable over 25 years. There is a seven-year period of grace.

Cde Chidzero said: "This is commendable in view of the financial and economic problems that developing countries such as Zimbabwe are experiencing in servicing external debts because of the current recession."

The station will provide Zimbabwe with direct dialling facilities to the outside world through the Intelsat satellite situated some 36 000 km above the Atlantic Ocean on the Equator.

Cde Shamuyarira said the satellite station would enable the country to achieve major objectives in the following three areas:

.Offer the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation more lines of communications to the outside world.

. Speed telecommunications by direct links or through an exchange much more quickly.

.Reduce dependence on South Africa.

The station has telecommunications radio equipment and a dish aerial and it is planned to install a second dish and associated equipment in a few years.

Shielded

At another signing of an agreement between the PTC and the Japanese company that will install the equipment, Nippon Electrical, the PTC postmaster general, Mr Andre Silcox, said Mazowe had been chosen because it was in a valley which shielded the aerial from earth radio interference, but was not so low that the direct beam between the aerial and the satellite was blocked.

The site of the station, provided by a landowner there, was large enough to accommodate three dish aerials and the equipment buildings.

Mr Shigeyoshi Fukino of the parent company of Nippon, Sumimoto Corporation, said 15 Zimbabweans would be trained for nine weeks in his country and on their return, they would receive on-the-job training during construction and installation of the satellite station.

CSO: 3400/531

JOURNALIST LOOKS AT CLAIMS, COUNTER CLAIMS, DENIALS OF SA STRIKE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Jan 83 p 15

[Article by Sheryl Raine: "Diary of the Strike Deep into Angola..."]

[Text] The South African Defence Force began its latest operation against Swapo in Angola on December 6.

News of the full-scale operation which resulted in clashes between South African troops and Angolan and Cuban forces was only confirmed by the SADF on December 26 at a Press conference held by the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen.

This is how news of the South African strike deep into Angola trickled out in a series of claims, denials and counter claims:

DECEMBER 20: Angola claims that SAAF Mirages and Buccaneers bombed Caiundo in Cuanha Cubango province for eight hours on December 18, killing "dozens of civilians" and destroying a school and a hospital. Four columns of the South African army were in southern Angola it says.

SADF spokesman in Pretoria says: "There is no point in reacting to repetitive allegations which may have been bandied about in recent years by a variety of people and organisations.

"The Defence Force's only presence in southern Angola is in hot pursuit operations against Swapo terrorists.

"It is our policy to search out and destroy them wherever they may be."

The SADF statement came with news that three South Africans had died in action on December 18 in the "operational area".

DECEMBER 22: Angolan radio reports fierce fighting between South African and Angolan forces in the south of Angola. Angola claims that South African forces have launched an attack against its forces near Cahama and reinforced their units at Quiteve and Otchinjau and bombarded Mulundo 275 km north of the Namibian border.

SADF spokesman says he has nothing to add to the statement issued on December 20.

DECEMBER 24: Angola claims Fapla forces have repulsed an attack by South African security forces against Swapo at Caiundo killing five members of the SADF and capturing a Namibian soldier as well as South African military equipment.

A SWA Territory Force spokesman partially confirms an Angolan radio report that its troops captured a Namibian soldier saying the soldier was "presumed" to have been captured.

The SWATF says five black soldiers were killed during "follow-up operations against Swapo in southern Angola during the last few days".

The spokesman declined to comment on further claims by

Angola that its troops had repulsed continual attempts by South African troops to take the town of Caiundo.

Earlier Angolan radio reports said SA security forces began thrusts into the Huila, Cunene and Cunado Cubango provinces of southern Angola on December 14.

DECEMBER 25: Angolan deputy Foreign Minister claims a South African Mirage was shot down and that SAAF aircraft had bombed economic and civilian targets in the south.

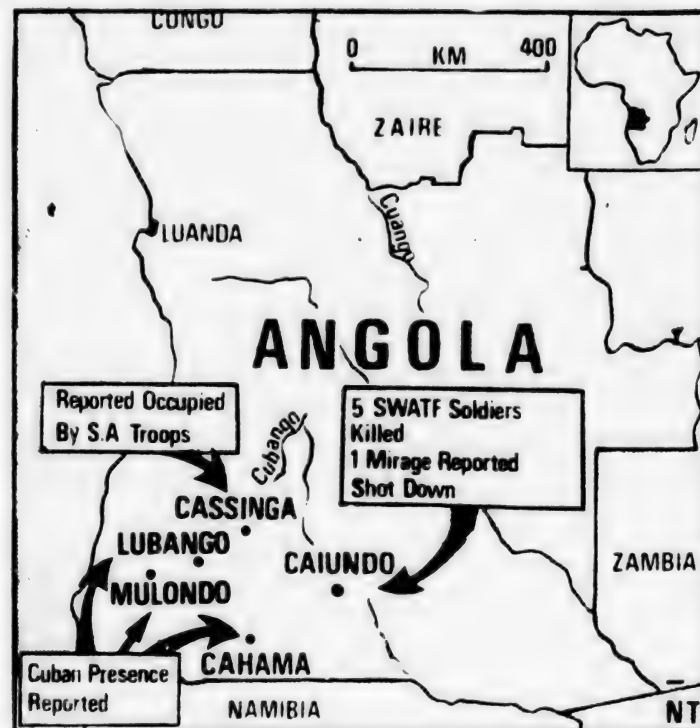
DECEMBER 26: General Constand Viljoen tells a Press conference that South African troops have become involved with Cuban and Angolan forces for the first time since Operation Protea in 1981.

He revealed that Fapla ambushed a South African platoon involved in follow-up operations against Swapo near Caiundo the previous week and five members of the SWA Territory Force were killed.

A base with 200 Swapo fighters had been attacked and they had fled to Cahama.

General Viljoen claims that 900 Swapo fighters were heading towards the Namibian border. South African forces had been deployed over a wide area of southern Angola as far north as possible, to intercept the Swapo offensive.

Cross-border operations would continue until South



Africa had reached its objective.

General Viljoen denies a Mirage was shot down by Angolan troops or that SAAF aircraft attacked civilian targets.

DECEMBER 27: Angola says South African forces occupy Casinga, more than 200 km inside Angola. The BBC reports an Angolan claims that South Africa has increased air and ground forces in various regions.

The SADF declines to comment and refers to General Viljoen's statements. The General denies South African forces attack civilian targets. He said repeated claims that SADF bombers constantly attacked economic targets as well as schools and villages was a propaganda ploy to get sympathy from the world.

An a SADF Press conference it is disclosed that SAAF aircraft launched an attack on Swapo headquarters near Lubango, 300 km inside Angola knocking out anti-aircraft missile sites and radar facilities in continuing operations over a wide area of southern Angola.

The SADF also announced the death of another soldier, bringing the death toll to nine for the South Africans.

The SADF confirms 52 dead Swapo in some 50 clashes with South African security forces since December 6.

General Viljoen denies South African forces are holding Casinga.

He anticipates claims by Angola about the operation and predicts that the "enemy will

say it has shot down South African aircraft and that South Africa has hit civilian targets". **DECEMBER 30:** Angola claims three SAAF aircraft were shot down in Southern Angola. The SADF denies the claim.

JANUARY 2: The SADF announces the death in action of five security force men in Southern Angola.

JANUARY 3: Angola claims to have shot down 10 South African aircraft and that the strength of the South African forces in Angola had now reached nine battalions, two companies and three army units supported by war planes and helicopters.

An SADF spokesman said he had nothing to add to the statement made on December 29 by General Viljoen.

PRIME MINISTER THREATENS TO NATIONALIZE MILLS

Harare THE HERALD in English 10 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Gutu.

The Government will take over milling companies if it finds that they are responsible for the mealie-meal shortage, the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, warned yesterday.

Addressing a rally attended by about 10 000 people at Mupandawana growth point near here, Cde Mugabe said maize supplies in the country were still sufficient and the shortage of mealie-meal was tantamount to sabotage.

Any miller who did not want to be under a black government should go.

Millers who thought that they could use mealie-meal shortages as a tactic to force the Government to approve price increases were mistaken as it would not bow to such manoeuvres, the Prime Minister said.

The Government intended to be involved in the movement of grain from the farmer through the Grain Marketing Board to the milling process and it would not hesitate to take over the milling companies if this facilitated the supply of mealie-meal to the people.

Political independence had been attained, he said, but economic power was still in the hands of whites, some of whom were expressing their disapproval of the black Government by deliberately using that power to try and discredit the Government.

He warned the people that some political parties would also exploit the mealie-meal shortage and use it as a campaigning platform now that elections were near. "You should forget them," he urged the people.

"Do you think that Zanu (PF), having struggled for so long together with the people, could betray them today?" he asked the crowd.

Cde Mugabe urged the people to plant short-season crops and said that although rains had come late, people should now work hard.

In the coming season crop prices would be increased and although no fixed prices had been finalised and approved, a bag of maize would be priced at more than \$13 and a tonne of groundnuts at about \$450, he said.

Cde Mugabe said the Government had allocated about 300 tractors to help farmers whose cattle had died during the two years of drought. However, there had been a delay in distributing the tractors and the Government was taking corrective measures.

The Prime Minister also announced plans to introduce provincial coordinating executives who would monitor all development plans, instead of the present system where ministries operated in isolation.

Under the plan, each district would be carefully monitored at provincial level in an effort to speed up the implementation of the three-year transitional development plan.

"After that we will be well organised," he said. "At the moment we are not."--Ziana.

CSO: 3400/533

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ON DECLINE, SAYS RESERVE BANK

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 9 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] ZIMBABWE's economic activity is showing a declining trend, the Reserve Bank said this week in its latest quarterly economic and statistical review.

The downturn reflects, the bank said, constraints imposed on the economy by the weak balance-of-payments position and the effects of the worst drought in the country's history. The balance-of-payments position came under pressure during the first three quarters of 1983 and a substantial balance-of-payments deficit has been recorded.

There has also been a significant reduction in exports of agricultural commodities because of the drought and in exports of minerals because of a continued weakness in the economies of the developed countries.

Exports of Zimbabwe's manufactured goods have also experienced difficulties this year, and before the devaluation of the dollar in December last year, a significant loss of markets had already occurred.

Despite the devaluation's effect in increasing price-competitiveness, exports in the first half of this year were still depressed. The bank hopes for a significant improvement in the second half of the year, particularly since the US\$70m World Bank facility will ease foreign-exchange constraints on exporters of manufactures.

It is expected that, generally, exports in the second half of this year will eventually turn out to be substantially higher than in the first half.

The bank is looking to the growth that it is now taking place

in the United States economy, and its transference to the other major industrial economies, for eventual sustained growth in Zimbabwe's exports in the medium term.

Stating that agriculture had been severely affected by drought conditions, the Reserve Bank said that the output of a number of crops, particularly maize and wheat, had declined sharply. As a result, the contribution of the agricultural sector to real domestic product in 1983 will be "markedly negative".

However, the bank states, the agricultural sector could react very positively if there are good rains in the 1983/84 season. This would enable agriculture once again to make a positive contribution to the easing of the balance-of-payments position.

The drought has also had its effect on the manufacturing sector which has also been showing a declining trend, particularly in sectors based on agriculture. In addition, reduced availability of foreign exchange and weak domestic and foreign demand have been the causes of a marginal decline in output.

The decline in domestic consumer demand has also affected the retail sector where, the bank says, there has been no real growth in the real level of activity.

The bank said that the decline in economic activity during the year has had a significant effect on the flow of tax revenues to Government, making it most important that the policy of restraint on Government spending be sustained. This has been effective to date and, overall, Government spending will grow in nominal

terms by only 8.7%, marginally reducing the net budget deficit to \$450m from \$465.1m in the previous fiscal year.

The bank review claims that the budget deficit has been financed in a way which will minimise its effect on inflation. The major portion of the financing will come from foreign sources and from domestic borrowing from non-bank institutions. The extent of the dependence on bank finances will be small.

The bank says that although no official visible trade figures for the first quarter of 1983 are available, their estimates are that the visible trade account went significantly into deficit once more, after having shown a surplus in the last quarter of 1982. As a result the current account deficit increased by an estimated \$73m to \$150m, the deficit on visible trade for the quarter estimated at \$64m being the principal cause of the deterioration.

As a result of normal seasonal factors, the visible trade account and current account as a whole deteriorated during the second and third quarters of the year.

In the final quarter, again due to normal seasonal factors and a fundamental improvement in the movement of exports, the bank expects a sharp decline in the current account deficit.

Reflecting the unfavourable development in the balance of payments, the foreign-exchange situation continued to deteriorate during the second quarter of 1983. This occurred despite support in the form of the draw-down of IMF resources and increased borrowing

by the Reserve Bank itself, which during the quarter totalled \$54.8m.

Since June gross foreign-exchange reserves improved through further foreign borrowing and in July and August were equal to about two months' imports.

Concluding that Zimbabwe's economic recovery depends on that

of the developed countries, the Reserve Bank says that present strategy should be one of austerity. Increases in production costs must be kept to a minimum and continued efforts must be made to reduce the rate of inflation.

Continued high rates of inflation would not only produce an

undesirable pattern of income distribution but would also distort investment and production. If current efforts at increasing export receipts and other efforts bearing on growth should be eased and a renewed upturn in non-inflationary activity will take place.

CSO: 3400/534

OFFICIAL DENOUNCES INDUSTRY LAY-OFFS AS ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The general secretary of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Cde Abisha Kupfuma, yesterday accused some employers in the hotel, textile and clothing industries of trying to sabotage the country's economy by threatening to close their businesses.

He told THE HERALD his organisation had information that many factories were contemplating closing down under the pretext that "they were not making profits".

"Some factories have given notices to their workers that they will soon close down because of lack of business. I don't believe that these people are not making profits at all. They just want to cause chaos by creating unemployment in the country at this time of drought," he said.

During UDI, when the country was ostracised by most countries, he said, the companies which now wanted to close down had boom times.

"I don't see how they could be running out of business now after independence. It is strange and we are very concerned about this."

He claimed that there was an element in the business community which was against the Government's socialist principles and wanted to "fix it" by closing down--leaving thousands of workers jobless.

Cde Kupfuma also said many employers of "this mentality" had applied to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services for permission to retrench workers.

"What is surprising is that most of those they want to retrench are blacks. There are also no retrenchment applications for people in management.

"I wonder whether blacks in the lower-levels at employment were the only ones who should be retrenched. The Government should look at these retrenchment applications on merit--otherwise we will be victims of monkey games by some unscrupulous employers who are not genuinely committed to the development of this country."

CSO: 3400/532

MINERALS EARN \$52 MILLION IN TWO MONTHS

Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by David Masunda]

[Text] The Minerals Marketing Corporation exported about \$52 million worth of minerals in September and October, its general manager, Mr Mark Rule, said this week.

Mr Rule said the MMC--a Government parastatal body--would be able to handle about \$300 million worth of business in a normal trading year.

"But obviously this would depend on world prices."

In September, the MMC exported minerals valued at about \$28 million. In October, its exports amounted to \$24.5 million, he said.

The main earners had been asbestos, ferro chrome, iron and steel.

Asked about the contribution of small miners, he said: "The production of minerals by small miners is very depressed because of the low level of world prices, particularly for their main outputs--tungsten ore and beryl".

Mr Rule, a director of the Zimbabwe Mining Corporation, said there was no "direct" link between the MMC and the ZMC.

"Our work is to advise them (ZMC) on the saleability of a mineral and then to sell it. We do not advise people how to sell--we do the selling."

"Minerals are part of the heritage of the nation and they are obviously an asset which becomes smaller when it is exported. The MMC was formed to get a fuller return from the country's mineral exports."

The corporation has installed equipment to treat certain types of minerals at its Msasa branch. The equipment was transferred from the Ministry of Mines and installed at Msasa last month.

The corporation, formed in March and employing nearly 100 people, became self-supporting in June.

It gets its revenue from an 0.875 percentage in charges on gross invoices.

"Generally, things are satisfactory," Mr Rule said. "The main problems we face are beyond our control, such as the depressed prices because of the world recession. This is now improving but not as much or as strongly as one would like," he said.

The MMC had been able "in certain fields to establish new substantial markets...and our customers are less suspicious now in their dealings with us".

Its world wide relations, good communication facilities (it has a permanent floor for 10 telex systems) enables it to keep in touch with world mineral marketing conditions very closely, he said. It markets all of Zimbabwe's minerals except gold which is a Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe monopoly.

CSO: 3400/532

INFANT DEATH RATE FALLING ACCORDING TO UNICEF REPORT

Harare THE HERALD in English 10 Dec 83 p 7

[Text] More than half the countries in the world, including South Africa, have higher infant mortality rates than in Zimbabwe, according to the latest Unicef report.

In 1981 in Zimbabwe 70 out of every 1 000 babies born alive died before their first birthday, putting Zimbabwe into the group of countries classified by Unicef as having a high infant mortality, 60 to 100 babies out of every 1 000 dying before their first birthday.

The highest infant mortality rate in the world is in Upper Volta which has 210 deaths per thousand and the lowest, seven, is in Finland, Japan and Sweden.

The figures show Zimbabwe's infant mortality rate dropped to 70 from 120 in 1960.

South Africa's infant mortality rate is 90, putting it into the top half of the list.

There is a general correlation between infant mortality rates and per capita gross national product with some rather spectacular exceptions.

Cuba and Jamaica are two good examples that a country does not have to be rich to get into the low infant mortality group of countries. Cuba, with an infant mortality rate of 19 per thousand, has a GNP per capita of US\$1 410 and Jamaica with an IMR of 16, has a GNP per capita of US \$1 180. Both these countries have GNPs per capita of less than a third of that of any other country with a IMR of 20 or less.

Sri Lanka is another superb example of a country doing the best with what it has. With a GNP per capita of just US\$300 it has managed to cut its IMR to 43. With that GNP per capita, less than half Zimbabwe's, it could have been expected to have an IMR of more than 100.

On the other side of the sheet there are countries with relatively high GNPs per capita but also with high IMRs. Many of these are oil producers,

but South Africa with a GNP per capita of US\$2 770 sticks out like a sore thumb with only three countries having both a higher GNP per capita and a higher IMR out of the 59 countries with a higher IMR.

There are 66 countries with a higher mortality rate than Zimbabwe and five who share her tied 67th position on the list. Three of these five have higher GNPs per capita and two, including China, have lower GNPs per capita.

Just six countries, including Sri Lanka, have a lower GNP per capita among the 58 countries with lower IMRs while there are 19 countries with both higher GNPs per capita and higher IMRs.

Although Zimbabwe is doing better than average the President, Cde Banana, has called for greater efforts to back Government policies designed to ensure the nation's children are healthier and better fed and to remove the dangers to health caused by inequalities of preindependence days.

CSO: 3400/535

BATOKA GORGE CHOSEN FOR BIG HYDROELECTRIC DAM PROJECT

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Batoka Gorge has been favoured over Mupata Gorge for the site of a major new hydro-electric dam, the director of the Department of Natural Resources, Mr Melville Reid, said yesterday.

He told THE HERALD that from an economic and engineering point of view there was little to choose between the two but engineers had given first preference to the Batoka Gorge dam site. Batoka is between Kariba and Victoria Falls.

This was as well from an environmental viewpoint as the building of a dam at Mupata Gorge would flood Mana Pools which was a unique ecological environment.

Following presentation of the Mana Pools report to the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Cde Victoria Chitepo, the department had made three major recommendations:

.That while it saw no objection to the dam at Batoka, it had very strong reservations on the dam at Mupata.

.That Zambia should be greatly involved in a more detailed study of the Mupata area.

.That certain biological and management studies being carried out by soil analysts, biologists and the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management should be continued and strengthened.

Mr Reid said: "We know relatively little about conditions on the Zambia side but from our observations more people and more agriculture will be affected by the Mupata dam.

"The Batoka site situation is much more clearcut. It is inhospitable country and likely to affect very few people.

"There are certain biological and natural resource management matters which should be examined further, particularly economic analysis of the management of wildlife areas and the social values of these areas.

"The Zambezi River is quite heavily utilised from a hydro-electric point of view, with two major dams on it already over 100 km long. Two more will virtually wipe out the middle Zambezi River in its natural state. It will simply be a series of lakes."

He also said Zimbabwe should look clearly at its indigenous sources of energy and at importing from Zambia and Zaire. It might be possible to buy energy more cheaply.

CSO: 3400/532

ARTICLE DISCUSSES, PRAISES RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Dec 83 p 10

[Article in the "My View" column by Allister Sparks]

[Text]

Resettlement in South Africa is not being undertaken only for ideological reasons. Mr Louis Nel, the Deputy Minister of Information, told newsmen at the harassed village of Mogopa recently. It is also being done to promote the economic development of the rural black population.

"It is part of a Third World problem we are dealing with here," Mr Nel explained, referring to a trend throughout the underdeveloped world of people flocking from the rural areas to the cities.

Very well then, let South Africa's attempts to deal with this problem be measured by Third World standards, of which it is usually so contemptuous.

I have spent the past week looking at a resettlement programme in Zimbabwe. It is a much newer programme than South Africa's, started just after independence four years ago. It has resulted so far in the resettlement of 33 000 black families, or some 180 000 people, compared with 3.5-million in 20 years under the South African programme.

It, too, is coming in for a lot of criticism, but for very different reasons. The complaint is that the programme is going too slowly.

In fact, the two programmes are completely different. The Zimbabwean one tackles the Third World problem by trying to ease overcrowding in the old tribal reserves, now called Communal Areas. It

does this by moving people with inadequate land in the communal areas on to new land which the Government is acquiring outside those areas.

The idea is not only to give these resettled people an opportunity to become more productive farmers, but also to make farming in the communal areas more viable by easing the overpopulation and overstocking there. The ecology is being given a chance to recover.

The more viable peasant farming becomes for blacks in the rural areas, the less migration there will be to the cities.

South Africa's resettlement programme is doing the opposite. It is dumping hundreds of thousands of additional people in the already overcrowded reserves, or homelands, often, as in the case of Magopa, uprooting them from viable farming units because these constitute "black spots" in "white" South Africa.

This is making the overcrowding in the homelands much worse. It is devastating the ecology. It has almost completely collapsed what there was of subsistence farming in some homelands.

It is, therefore, intensifying the need, born of desperation, to migrate to the cities, forcing the Government to intensify its reliance on influx control regulations and pass-laws arrests, which is pushing up our prison population and criminalising millions of ordinary people.

How this is supposed to be easing our Third World problem, Mr Nel has yet to explain.

Last Sunday I visited one of Zimbabwe's resettlement areas, a place called Hoyuyu, about 150 km north-east of Harare. I found it strikingly different from the many resettlement camps I have visited in South Africa, the worst of which remind me of concentration camps.

Hoyuyu is a large area that used to comprise 47 white farms that were either abandoned during the guerilla war or have been bought by the Government. Now, 1 387 black farmers have been resettled there on 5 hectare plots.

There is no no compulsion. Land-hungry people apply to go to the resettlement areas and the most deserving are selected. They move on their own and in their own time.

They live in small villages of about a dozen families each. They build their own homes, mostly mud huts, but those who can afford to have built brick houses. The arable plots surround the villages. The Government stumps and ploughs half a hectare of each and gives each farmer seeds and fertilisers for the first year to get him started. There is a communal grazing area for livestock nearby.

Schools and health clinics are provided at strategic points between the villages. There is a resident settlement officer and an animal health assistant for every 500

families, and an agricultural adviser for every 200 families.

At Village 33, I met Mr Numero Zulu and his family. Mr Zulu, aged 50, was born in Natal but has lived

nearly all his life in Zimbabwe. Last year he sold 500 bags of maize and 15 of sunflower seeds for about R7000 off his 5 hectare plot.

"I'm doing fine," he told me with a grin.

What a contrast with the desperate, apathetic people of Onverwacht, Oxtun, Zwelendinga and Thornhill.

CSO: 3400/536

LANCASHIRE STEEL COMPANY FACES POSSIBLE CLOSURE

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 22 Dec 83 p 1

[Text]

THE Lancashire Steel company at Kwekwe faces closure at the end of January, unless a price increase can be granted for its products.

This was said yesterday by a spokesman for the company, which has faced serious financial problems for the last two years following massive increases in the cost of raw materials from Zisco, plus rising electricity, wages, transport and other expenses.

The company employs about 800 people and is the only large supplier of wire and wire rods in the SADCC region. As reported in *The Gazette* in October, it has for many months faced a threat to its survival in the face of controlled prices for its products, increasing costs, considerable problems in its South African export quota and a slump in its local and other export markets.

The company lost \$2,2 million last year and has steadily continued to lose very substantial amounts each month this year. In June it applied to the Government for a price increase of about 20% — but nothing has yet been granted.

It is known that recently talks have been going on between the British-owned Lancashire Steel company and Government representatives over the future of this vital

Kwekwe industry.

These concerned proposals for the Industrial Development Corporation to take over a 44% interest in the company through the Zisco organisation; for customers to take over another 44%, and for its parent British Steel group to retain 12% of the shareholding.

However, although various meetings have been held to discuss this proposal, among other possibilities, nothing appears yet to have been firmly decided — and the entire future of the company and the various negotiations depends solely on its being granted the long-sought price increase.

The spokesman said: "The price increase was a vital part of the whole proposed arrangement."

It is estimated that it would now cost about \$7 million to establish the company in a viable position in order to continue operations after the end of January — provided a price increase is approved.

If the Lancashire Steelworks problems are not soon resolved, the effects of the closure of this large industry at Kwekwe next month-end would have a disastrous result, not only in the area itself but on the supply of its products throughout the country.

BIG RUSH AS MAIZE MEAL SHORTAGE HITS STORES

Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Dec 83 p 9

[Article by Maxwell Chivasa]

[Text] Hundreds of people, mostly from rural areas, yesterday descended on a Mbare Musika store to buy the only 200 bags of maize meal being unloaded from a miller's delivery truck.

This was the only delivery since last week for Machipisa Brothers supermarket at Musika. At least four other shops there have been without maize meal for the past four days. One shop received its 200 bags on Monday. They were sold out in 10 minutes.

A manager of the Machipisa Brothers shop, which is near the bus terminus, Cde Lydia Hlomayi, said: "Our customers are mostly from the rural areas and they want to buy here because they do not have to pay transport to move the maize meal to the buses."

Another manager, Cde Stanley Murambiwa, said: "For the past three days rural customers have been coming to ask why there is no maize meal and we have been telling them to wait until the millers supplied us with our allocations. But we are discouraged to find very little coming."

He said the shop, which normally received 2 000 bags a week, was now being allocated 200 a week from Premier Milling Company. The shop had not received its weekly delivery of 100 bags from National Foods for the past three weeks. It was also expecting to receive about 200 bags from Blue Ribbon Foods.

The manager of Musanhu Store at Musika, Cde Idho Musanhu, told THE HERALD that the store was no longer selling maize meal.

"All our allocations, if there are any at all, get finished while they are being unloaded from the lorries of milling companies. We used to receive over 800 bags of 50 kg a week, but these days if we get over 200 from all millers, we will be very lucky."

The manager of Chiweshe supermarket in Mbare, Cde Thomas Gaura, said:

"The situation is getting worse by the day with some rural customers appealing to leave money with us so we can keep their bags. But we have refused to take the money."

A HERALD survey found that most people queueing for maize meal at Mbare were from rural areas. Three families said it would cost them \$1 each to take the bags to Mutoko by bus.

The chairman of the Millers' Association, Mr Keith Watt, said in Harare yesterday that millers were not prepared to give any statements to the Press as the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, had set up a Cabinet committee to investigate the maize meal situation.

A spokesman for the Grain Marketing Board said he could not comment on the matter.

CSO: 3400/533

NUMBER OF WHITES IN PUBLIC SERVICE REDUCED BY HALF

Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The number of white officers and employees in the Zimbabwe Public Service is now less than half what it was at independence, according to recent figures.

In 1980 there were 7 202 white officers and 5 609 white employees, a total of 12 811. By the next year the numbers had dropped to 5 207 officers and 2 887 employees and now there are 4 144 officers (about 1 500 of them being expatriates on short-term contracts) and 1 771 employees, a total of 5 915.

The figures bear out the statement in Parliament last week by the Minister of State (Public Service), Mr Chris Andersen, when he replied to the report of the Committee on Public Accounts and its criticism of the Public Service Commission.

Mr Andersen said there was a shortage of trained and experienced staff and the committee has been told of the steps being taken to improve the situation as quickly as possible.

Mr Andersen said there were four main reasons for staffing difficulties:

.The previous government had neglected to provide the necessary training for black Zimbabweans.

.Since independence the public service had expanded with the creation of new ministries and departments.

.Under a so-called "incentive scheme" numerous white Zimbabweans had left the service.

.The public service was unable to compete with the private sector over salaries and there had been a lot of poaching.

The figures of whites leaving the civil service show, considering that the vast majority of officers were white at independence, that most of the experienced men and women in the service at independence have left.

Since independence, intensive training has been carried out to maintain efficiency and make up for the lack of long-term experience by many public servants but, as Mr Andersen noted in Parliament, experienced and fully trained staff cannot be produced overnight.

The minister felt credit should be given to the commission for the work it did in very difficult circumstances and if credit was given to civil servants where it was due it would boost morale.

CSO: 3400/535

STATE TO CLEAR CHIPINGE FARMS OF SQUATTERS

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The Government is to resettle all squatters in the Chipinge commercial farming area who qualify for resettlement, and arrangements are being made to stop other squatting, the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, Cde Moven Mahachi, said yesterday.

In a statement Cde Mahachi said the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, had directed him and the ministers of Agriculture, of Home Affairs, and of Local Government and Town Planning to take immediate action to end the squatting in the area.

The four ministers met on Monday and decided to visit the area. On Tuesday Cde Mahachi, acting Minister of Home Affairs Cde Simbi Mubako and the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Cde Swithun Mombeshora, plus officials, met representatives of the Commercial Farmers' Union.

The meeting found there were five classes of squatter; wage earners employed in Chipinge; abandoned farm labourers, some who qualified for resettlement and some who did not; people from surrounding communal areas, who again could be subdivided into those qualifying for resettlement and those not; displaced people from Mozambique; and vagrants.

At the meeting it was decided that those in paid jobs would be moved by the police to their places of employment. Farm labourers too old for resettlement would be looked after by former employers in close consultation with the Department of Social Services and efforts would be made to rehabilitate proven vagrants.

Immediate steps would be taken to resettle all squatters who qualified on available land in the district.

"It is known," said Cde Mahachi, "that Chipinge commercial farming area is heavily squatted upon. This level of squatting is having a detrimental effect on the agricultural industry in this area and affects such important foreign exchange earners as tea and coffee.

"If it continues unchecked it will soon also seriously endanger the dairy industry.

"The associated spontaneous settlements are also known to serve as refuge for certain subversive and criminal elements in the area. Government will not allow undisciplined and criminal elements to frustrate the agricultural industry and the resettlement programmes."

No development could take place in areas where there was no discipline.

CSO: 3400/533

SQUATTERS DEFYING QUIT ORDERS, AFFECTING AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 22 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] THE squatter problem in some farming areas of Mashonaland and Manicaland has become so serious that it is affecting Zimbabwe's agricultural potential.

Among the worst-hit areas are scores of commercial farms in the Angwa valley region from Chinhoyi to Karoi and Tengwe, known as the Lomagundi district and also the fertile Chipinge area near the south-eastern border with Mozambique.

Many are groups of hard-core squatters who are being led by young men known as "squatter chiefs". At Chipinge the squatter position is so serious that it could even jeopardise operations of the \$6.3 million Dairy Marketing Board's long-life sterilised milk factory.

This was built and opened in August with help from the Netherlands Government which granted Zimbabwe a soft loan of 10 million Dutch guilders for the scheme. It is aimed at encouraging small-scale dairy farmers, stimulating the dairy industry, supplying milk to communal areas and also possibly exporting products to the SADC region.

In recent months directives urging squatters to leave privately owned farms in some areas have been issued by the Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning, the Ministry of Lands, and also by Mr Edgar Tekere who is chairman of the Manicaland provincial ZANU(PF) party. These have succeeded in many cases and helped to relieve squatter problems in the Odzi, Nyazura, Odzani and Penhalonga areas.

But in the Lomagundi and Chipinge districts the hard-core squat-

ters are ignoring or openly defying all attempts to remove them.

Most farmers see the key to the continuing problem as being the action (or lack of action) of the police, who fall under the control of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Herbert Ushewokunze.

It is known that police throughout Zimbabwe have been directed by his Ministry not to take action against farm squatters unless they receive instructions to do so in writing.

It is in this context that groups of the hard-core squatters led by the "squatter chiefs" are refusing to move off farms in the Lomagundi and Chipinge districts, despite ministerial directives or civil action taken through the courts to remove them.

The leaders all appear to be self-proclaimed ZANU(PF) local leaders. Many of them are said to be charging money for distributing the privately owned farmland among their followers. They also appear to see themselves as gaining political power and prestige through their action in encouraging the squatters to occupy farms.

Without active police assistance to back up civil legal proceedings, farmers are unable to evict squatters from their land in the face of physical threats and intimidation of workers. Civil authorities refuse to even serve eviction warrants on the squatters for fear of violence.

The refusal of the police to help evict squatters was illustrated in a test case brought to the High Court in Harare in November. As reported in *The Gazette*, Shurugwi farmer Mr Robert Rensford was then granted a mandamus order enjoining the police to assist him in

evicting squatters. They had occupied a large part of his property for three years and had caused considerable damage.

Although the High Court granted him the mandamus order against the Commissioner of Police and Magistrate's Court officials, the Minister for Home Affairs immediately appealed against the High Court judgement.

This appeal has had the effect of suspending the High Court judgement at present and further expensive legal proceedings must now be taken in the Supreme Court before the long drawn-out case can be decided.

In the meantime the 20 or so squatter families and about 200 head of their scrub cattle are still occupying the farm and intimidating Mr Rensford's farm workers. They have now even formed themselves into a farming cooperative on his land.

Mr Rensford told a *Gazette* reporter recently that in the face of drought and his continued squatter problems, he was coming to the end of his tether and did not know which way to turn.

Mr Rensford's experience is regarded as the definitive test case among members of the commercial farming community, especially those in the Lomagundi and Chipinge areas. They say it is a vivid illustration of the uselessness of taking legal action to evict squatters illegally encroaching on their land.

"Because of the lack of police enforcement of civil proceedings, the basic tenets of law and order, and the ability to see that the law is complied with, simply do not exist where squatters on farms are involved," said a farmer recently.

During the hearing of Mr Rensford's case, the judge himself found that unless civil orders were enforced by the state if necessary, it could be "quite pointless" for an aggrieved visitor or citizen in Zimbabwe to seek the protection of his rights through the courts.

The judge commented: "This kind of situation is calculated to lead to anarchical results," before granting the mandamus order which is now the subject of an appeal by the Minister of Home Affairs.

This week a spokesman for the Commercial Farmers' Union told a

Gazette reporter that, while some ministries had greatly assisted in getting squatters to move off private farms in certain areas, the position was still bad in the Lomagundi and Chipinge districts.

"I would go so far as to say that the squatter situation in Chipinge, unless it is controlled and amicably resolved very soon, will jeopardise the very large investment of the DMB's long-life milk plant in that area," he said.

"The CFU is also extremely concerned at the continued activity of squatters in the Chinhoyi, Karoi and Tengwe areas — especially as

the agricultural season is now in full swing and best production is needed."

In addition to these squatters, hundreds more are known to be entering the Zambesi valley to the north-east from Mocambique. Many are reported to be dying of starvation and disease at remote missions and farms. The small Chipinge hospital cannot cope with the great influx of these people and the medical superintendent of the hospital is reported to be greatly concerned about the continuing problem.

CSO: 3400/534

ARTICLE ANALYZES WHITE EXPERIENCE OF BLACK RULE

Johannesburg LEADERSHIP SA Vol 2 No 2 [no date given] pp 76-80

[Article by Professor Marshall W. Murphree: "White Under Black"]

[Text]

For nearly a century the social history of most of Africa has evolved in a context where Whites have held political and economic control, and thus the name of Winthrop Jordan's monumental study of American racial attitudes, *White Over Black*, could easily serve as the title for such an history. But, except for the southern tip of the continent, the last two decades have seen a reversal of this position, with the Whites in independent black Africa now living under black political control.

The social and psychological implications of this major upheaval have largely been buried in academic literature under larger geopolitical concerns for the political and economic stability of the new states of Africa. Fortunately they have not escaped the attention of a few good novels, the best of these for my money being V S Naipaul's *A Bend in the River*. Nor have they escaped the attention of the popular press which, with its usual inconsistency, has painted various and contrasting pictures of the post-independence white experience ranging from dark scenes of subjection, to rapine and plunder, to assertions that Whites in these countries "never had it so good" and that their numbers have consequently increased.

Closer examination shows that neither of these extremes is characteristic, either on statistical or substantive grounds. Taking statistics first, it is true that some African countries lost most of their resident white population shortly after independence, among these being Algeria, Angola and

Mocambique. But the more typical picture is one of a drop in the range of 20% to 40% in the white population in the first decade of independence, as suggested by accurate statistics (see table on following page).

These figures belie the common contention that the white population in post-independence black states has remained the same, or has risen. In some cases this has been true, but the general position is that in spite of an influx of a large number of white short-term expatriate personnel working for international agencies there has usually been a drop in the number of resident Whites. The false impression is due in part to increased tourism and a rural-to-urban shift by Whites, raising the "visibility quotient" of Whites in the principal cities.

For those Whites who have stayed, judged on the basis of life-style and economic criteria, life has not changed that much. In this sphere most frustrations relate to depressed national economic conditions, with their concomitant restrictions on the importation of fuel, capital replacement and luxury goods. But for most the pleasant components of sub-tropical living remain, and a visit to many a farm or estate in Zimbabwe or Malawi evokes an ambience reminiscent of the Kenyan "White Highlands" of the 1930s. As a group Whites share, with an emergent black elite, a privileged economic status which places them far above the bulk of the population. In addition they now enjoy the psychological liberation which has

come by being relieved of their involvement in the racism of colonial society and in general social relations are now far more relaxed and enriching.

Although pleasant life styles and economic privilege continue, one basic factor has changed. The White no longer has any significant political power. Here he is vulnerable – vulnerable to the vagaries of a future dependent upon changes in the black political structure, vulnerable to pressures on his economic and occupational status and open, ultimately, to expulsion or deportation.

For these changes Whites have been poorly prepared by their pre-independence experience. The ethnocentrism of this experience, the sense of cultural and status differentials, the deep-seated prejudices, developed in part as an ideological justification for the *status quo* and in part as a result of the subconsciously derived conceptual superstructure progressively imposed on the White by his social location. The result is a massive motivational dynamic to resist social and political change on their part. Privileged elites do not abandon their privileges lightly, and prejudice, although more mutable, has a tenacity and irrationality which tends to worsen in the face of change to the unknown – in this case, black rule.

Ill-prepared or not, Whites have had to face the implications of independence with its potential loss of privilege and demands for subjective adjustments in attitude. Their fears and problems have been compounded by a number of different elements but are often distilled in the question, what does black rule mean for them? At its most elementary level this has reduced to the premonition that it might mean a complete reversal of racial positions – Blacks on top, Whites on bottom.

Many black leaders have been at pains to state to Whites that this is not necessarily the case: majority rule does not mean black rule, it means rather non-racial rule by the people – all the people.

But, even if Whites accept the sincerity of these assertions, the leaders of the newly emergent black states are also faced with political and developmental problems of great magnitude, and there is no question but that the solution of these problems must take priority in the immediate future over the implementation of a benevolent, non-racial ideology in respect to resident

white minority populations. Black nationalist leaders have a different constituency, and having achieved independence they are under the further requirement of demonstrating that theirs is a government "of, for and by Blacks." They are thus under great pressure to reduce racially-linked gaps in the standard of living, assert a black cultural sovereignty and accelerate black placement at higher levels in the occupational spectrum.

These are issues of which Whites are uneasily aware. The Whites are members of an economic and social elite, but without political power. And racially visible social and economic elites without political power are in a dangerous position – vulnerable to the constant danger that political elites may choose to operationalize race for political and economic purposes, a technique in which Blacks have been well schooled by Whites. The uneasy awareness of these issues forms the context for an interrelated and more specific complex of white concerns which relate to law-and-order issues, fears over possible expendability, insecurities regarding their economic future and threats to their identity.

In cocktail party conversation and the popular press the law-and-order issue is the most frequently mentioned fear on the part of Whites. There have been noteworthy cases where Whites have been the target of violence, but generally this has been linked more to increases in thuggery and banditry in given locales than to any collective anti-white violence. The new black governments have a stake in the physical safety of their white minorities since their skills are a resource they can ill afford to lose. They also have a stake in establishing a reputation for competency in this area in terms of their international image. White security has tended to benefit from conditions where the government is in a strong position with little opposition, whatever the ideological posture of that government is. Correspondingly, the white minority's dependence on local forces of law and order has the effect of reinforcing their support for the local government's stability. This sometimes places Whites in the ambivalent position of supporting totalitarian aspects of a government's regime while at the same time finding themselves open to the arbitrary and sometimes whimsical exercise of the judicial and law enforcement processes of the same regime.

Whites in Senegal, selected years.

Senegal (Independent 1960) (Total population 3 760 000)

Year	Whites
1945	16 432
1960	38 000
1966	31 797
1968	29 500
1970	29 000

Whites = 0,07% of population in 1970.

24% drop in white population in first decade of independence.

Whites in Kenya, selected years.

Kenya (Independent 1963) (Total population 10 942 705)

Year	Whites
1948	29 660
1958	64 700
1962	55 759
1965	42 000
1969	40 593

Whites = 0,03% of population in 1969.

37% drop in white population since peak in 1958.

Whites in Zambia, selected years.

Zambia (Independent 1964) (Total population 4 056 995)

Year	Whites
1956	65 277
1962	77 000
1964	74 000
1965	70 000
1969	43 390

Whites = 1% of population in 1969.

41% drop in white population since independence.

This is an aspect of the second group of white concerns, which relates to their political marginalization and their expendability in the face of larger black political concerns. Previously their presence, their rights and their privileges were guaranteed by governments for which they were important political constituencies and which they could significantly influence. This collective political leverage is now denied them and they have the uneasy sense, which comes easily to those who once manipulated power, of being manipulated by the current powerholders, of being pawns in a game not of their own making. They have been aware of their utility, the utility of their skills, but fear that black governments may view their presence only in instrumental, not intrinsic terms. If this is the case they are potentially expendable when their skills are no longer needed.

Thus Whites have tended to personalize the terms of their continued presence,

both on the basis of the value of their own expertise and on the basis of perceived patronage relationships with incumbent political leadership. White support for the political leaders in their respective countries – Kenyatta in Kenya, Senghor in Senegal, Kaunda in Zambia, Banda in Malawi and Mugabe in Zimbabwe – has been a noticeable characteristic, based on the assumption that these “strong men” have an appreciation of the value of their presence. The uncertainties of the future remain, of course, for if one’s guarantees are personal, what happens when personalities change?

The perception that the strongest guarantee possessed by Whites for their long-term future lies not in constitutional or political safeguards but in the perceived utility of their presence is probably correct. This is however a double-edged weapon, as their indispensability may cause resentment and increased pressures for the “blackening” of their occupational roles. Such pressures relate to the third area of white concern, the fear of a loss of economic status.

Economic vulnerability has varied for Whites, depending upon the category of economic activity in which they have been involved, their own occupational flexibility and “transferability” to other economic activities and the options for the substitution of their economic skills and resources available to the governments concerned. Certain occupational categories are subject to heavy pressures for the replacement of Whites by Blacks. The civil service is one of these since it functions at the public interface, where new governments are anxious to be seen to be represented by Blacks. Categories requiring relatively short or minimal training are subject to similar pressures, since these are seen as areas where new jobs can rapidly be generated for black youth, a politically necessary imperative.

On the other hand highly trained professionals and skilled businessmen in commerce and industry have generally managed to survive and indeed prosper. Farmers are a special category. In Zimbabwe, with a government policy which places a premium on agricultural productivity, efficient white farmers continue to enjoy relative prosperity. Kenya has been different since at independence most of the 6 000 white farmers occupied the so-called White Highlands, the best arable land in a country which is in short supply

of this basic asset. It was, furthermore, land considered to have been dispossessed from the Kikuyu, the most important ethnically-defined group in Kenyan nationalism. Thus it was politically expedient for this land to be re-allocated to (largely) Kikuyu farmers, and by 1976 the number of white farmers had dropped to 400. Many of these are engaged in large-scale ranching enterprises in sub-arable areas of the country, where the land issue was not highly politicized, where their skills are not easily substitutable by local expertise and where capital requirements are in a range beyond the scope of significant local individual competition but too small to attract large scale corporate competition. Other former white farmers have been able to negotiate the managerial skills learned on the farm into successful business careers in Nairobi or Mombasa.

Thus for most Whites endowed with either extensive professional training or with wit, shrewdness and some capital the threat of loss of economic privilege has been largely spurious. This situation is likely to continue. For one thing, economic privilege tends to perpetuate itself over time, and from generation to generation. For another, as long as Whites continue to exist as a separate group with a significantly lower birth rate than the black population dependency rates will be lower for Whites and correspondingly relative *per capita* income will be higher.

The fourth set of white concerns relates to their identity, the issue of cultural location. In the pre-independence situation this identity was secure, the Whites' cultural location solidly embedded in a tradition reinforced by the invidious contrasts of colonialism. This comforting *milieu* no longer exists for the Whites. Unless they are willing to accept the status of expatriate sojourners – and many of them are – they must become white Zambians, white Kenyans or Zimbabweans. What this means in terms of culture and identity is not yet clear.

The question of a new national identity in its cultural dimensions is, of course, an issue not restricted to Whites in the new black states. What, for instance, does "Zambianicity" mean to the Lozi Zambian? Does it mean an augmented vitality for his own ethnic particularity within a larger national identity, or does it mean a submersion of this particularity in a new,

synthetic culture coincident with the collective aims of the new nation-state?

These questions are part of the African version of the ubiquitous problem of cultural pluralism within national unity. Paradoxically, at a time when in such countries as the United States, the cultural "melting pot" model is being abandoned for a new recognition of the values of cultural diversity, black states in Africa are implicitly operating the older model in their search for national unity. Concerned as they are with issues of national integration this is hardly surprising. This concern does, however, make white subjective adjustment difficult and raises levels of cultural insecurity. For one thing, Whites are a racially defined group, which adds to the immutability of their public identity and cultural separateness. For another, their basic perspective is backward looking, concerned more with the conservation of their own cultural tradition than with a subjective identification with the ethos of the new state, which may itself not be clear.

This cultural aspect of white "prejudice" is in the long run far more important than their social prejudices, which usually receive far more attention. Whites have adjusted quickly, and with relatively little trauma, to social integration. Attitudes in this area have proved to be highly mutable. Cultural prejudice, in the sense of an ethnocentric assignment of value priority to one's own cultural heritage, is a far more recalcitrant issue. Inextricably interwoven as it is with fundamental questions regarding self-identity, it is little wonder that Whites cling as tenaciously to this type of prejudice as do the various ethnic groups in American society.

It is also therefore hardly surprising that Whites place as a first priority among their concerns the education of their children. Inter-racial education does not, generally, worry them. What they are concerned about is the provision of education in a context conducive to the transmission of their own cultural heritage. Education is therefore a key factor in white long-range commitment to the new states in which they live, since the identification required for this commitment lies not only in historical roots with the past but also in hopes for the future, which are bound up with one's children. It is, however, important that this concern for the perpetuation of a

given *cultural* identity be divorced from any concern for *racial* privilege. It is clear that while a renewed appreciation of cultural diversity in the new states of Africa is a possibility, ideas of racial exclusivism are not.

Based on these observations one can predict with fair confidence the general profile of the white future in black Africa, always keeping in mind that the specifics will vary from country to country.

Their numbers will continue to diminish until a level is reached where their presence is no longer seen as an actual or potential competitive political or economic element. This erosion of their presence will be differentiated on occupational and subjective grounds. For each individual the decision as to whether to go or stay will be a personally derived equation involving their perceived self-interest and the alter-

native options available to them. Those who stay are likely to be those with training, skills and entrepreneurial verve. They will be the attitudinally resilient and flexible, free from what the Zimbabwean author, Charles Oliver, once called "the dinosaurial lunacy of any philosophy based on skin colour."

Those who stay will remain as members of a small culturally distinct sub-section of the population with its concomitant structural location, high on the socio-economic scale. Given the right ingredients of understanding and policy implementation they may be able, through a number of economic and cultural contributions, to demonstrate the usefulness of their continued presence, achieving a new symbiotic relationship with the rest of society and thus establishing a new and real base for their continued presence in Africa. ■

CSO: 3400/538

CDE NDAWANA: BLACK FARMERS WORST WAGE PAYERS

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] Black farmers in Zimbabwe are the worst violators of the minimum wage in the agricultural sector and the Government should take stern measures against the culprits, the general secretary of the Zimbabwe Agriculture and Plantation Workers' Union, Cde Dickson Ndawana, said yesterday.

The veteran trade unionist told THE HERALD that the new minimum wage of \$55 a month which became effective in September was not being paid.

"We are compiling the list of those employers who violate the regulations and continue to exploit workers in the agricultural sector. The list will be handed to the Government and we expect stern measures taken against them."

Asked whether it was only blacks who were culprits in violating the regulations, Cde Ndawana said: "No. We also have some white farmers. But the majority are blacks and this is very disturbing to us."

He also said that during this rainy season, many farmers forced their workers to work overtime without pay. "This is illegal, selfish and cruel and cannot be tolerated in a socialist society."

Cde Ndawana said he was disgusted by the poor accommodation and unhygienic conditions that still existed on most farms.

Most workers on the farms were bitter about poor housing and "are surprised why nothing has been done to improve the situation after the Government had called on employers to do so".

"There was an element in the farming community which was totally against change and wanted to perpetually keep the black workers down for their own benefit.

"Most people are living under horrible conditions in the farms. Our repeated appeals to employers to improve houses have fallen on deaf ears of people who think they are still living in Rhodesia," he said.

He also claimed that pupils at farm schools were forced to work in the fields in the morning and attend classes in the afternoon where they are taught by "totally unqualified teachers".

"There is no doubt that these children's future will be bleak indeed. Their parents have offered to pay fees for proper education--but the farmers still order the children to work in the fields in the morning before classes. This is satanic."

CSO: 3400/532

WOMEN URGED TO ASSUME LEADERSHIP ROLE

Prime Minister's Speech

Harare THE HERALD in English 27 Dec 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, wants to consolidate Zanu (PF) so that women are the mainstay of the party and can lead Zimbabwe to a one-party state.

Answering questions on ZTV's The Nation programme on Christmas Day, Cde Mugabe urged women to prepare thoroughly for the party's congress next year.

The time had come for women to "create a broad leadership", he said. Only Cde Teurai Ropa Nhongo and his wife, Cde Sally, were in the party's hierarchy, and they had been elected when Zanu (PF) was in exile.

Cde Mugabe, who is president of the party, said his recent tour of women's leagues around Zimbabwe had been to give them "correct messages" so that their recommendations could go to the national congress next year.

"It is the women who really sustain the party and therefore sustain the Government. They can bring those outside the party into it and lead the country to a one-party state," he said.

Cde Mugabe also announced that another exercise to round up prostitutes, vagrants, squatters and that "category of people" would be undertaken.

Prostitution was a social evil which, "we must strive to be rid of", and although in other countries social work and religious programmes had tried to take care of the problem, "it has a tendency to persist, for various reasons," the Prime Minister said.

Information

"We asked the police and security forces to combine in rounding up these people. The police provided the security forces with information on who the prostitutes are and on that basis to round them up. The police have records and can tell who is a prostitute."

He admitted that the exercise had backfired because the methods were "not always correct. It was any person in some cases who was found loitering who was suspected of being a prostitute and rounded up, and it was a discriminatory exercise. We have prostitutes across the board--blacks, Coloureds and whites and so one would have wanted to see a round-up of all prostitutes".

Cde Mugabe said he had not heard of any male prostitutes, but if there were they would be included in the round-up.

He warned prostitutes not to rest "on their laurels" and comfort themselves that the end of the process has come.

"We must be thorough in our screening. We must not let in people who are innocent and this is where it went wrong. This is why we are letting it be stopped for now. We do not want to arrest them."

He said prostitutes must learn to live by their own sweat, by working for their bread, "and we can provide as many jobs as possible". He also indicated that there were still a number of women at Mushumbi Pools who are being "re-educated and as soon as I am satisfied they were rehabilitated, there will be no reason why they should not rejoin the rest of the people in society".

He agreed with a questioner who suggested that it "takes two to play the game" and that men should be apprehended as well.

"But the prostitutes don't take it that way," he said, "if it was just two it wouldn't really be

prostitution, but they take more than 10, more than 20. It may take 100 to constitute the evil and we are up in arms against them as well."

He said the Government was not worried that a girl might have a boyfriend and they lived together out of wedlock, whatever moralists and religious people might think.

Cde Mugabe said squatting had also persisted for several reasons, one of which was the slow pace of the resettlement programmes.

Another factor was that with independence "they think they have the freedom to settle where they please, and so you get the category of squatters who, although not in need of land, resort to squatting."

There were also people who have been forced into this country because of the drought and the dissidents or bandits in their areas.

"This is mainly on the border with Mozambique. We understand what is happening, and we try to get them back to their country by talking to the administration on the other side. But in some cases no sooner have we sent them back than they return again to Zim-babwe."

Cde Mugabe said the Government would try a multi-faceted remedy for every kind of problem regarding squatting, and he had sent a team of ministers down to Chipinge, the area most affected, with squatters on 47 farms, to assess the problem and prescribe a remedy.

Genuine squatters would be allocated adjacent land to enable them to become "genuine settlers", but some would be driven away "because they want their wives to squat on farms that don't belong to them".

Looking Back, Ahead on Women's Rights

Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] IT'S been a year of bouquets and the odd brickbat . . . a year in which women have been urged forward to seek a voice in Zimbabwe.

There were the horror stories of baby dumping, the purge on the "social evil" — prostitution.

And there was the Prime Minister applauding women, encouraging women, spurring them on to better things.

"It is the women who really sustain the party and therefore sustain the Government," Cde Mugabe told viewers on ZTV's The Nation last Sunday.

"They can bring those outside the party into it and lead the country to a one-party state."

He urged women to prepare for the Zanu (PF) party congress next year suggesting it was time for women to create a broad leadership.

He noted that only his wife, Cde Sally, and the Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Cde Teurai Ropa Nhongo, represented women in the party's hierarchy — and they had been elected before the formation of the Government.

Addressing members of the Women's League for Matabeleland South earlier this month, the Prime Minister praised the women's unflinching support for the party despite the dissident threat in the area.

"You have suffered," he told them. "Some of you have been beaten and others were burnt with plastics."

"Others had their ears cut off while some had their homes destroyed and their husbands killed. But they have unrelentingly continued to support the party."

Party support from women also received the attention of Cde Sally.

In an October interview she said: "Women are very much on the move to national level."

Cde Teurai Ropa Nhongo meanwhile urged women to take their place in society on equal terms with men.

Talking at a seminar last month on the Role of Women in Independent Zimbabwe, Cde Nhongo said women should be involved in the country's advancement just as they had fought with men to liberate Zimbabwe.

In an interview with an American magazine in June, Cde Nhongo spoke of what women could expect in the future:

- A declaration of women's rights and customary law reform bills.
- A quota system to reserve a certain percentage of job places in the public and private sector and in schools and training colleges for women.
- More promotions of suitable women to top level jobs through Government or Presidential directive.
- A declaration of women's rights to property in cases of divorce, legal separation or death and the right to acquire municipal housing and custody of children.

- Social education to effect change to retrogressive social attitudes that form stumbling blocks to development efforts.

- Integration of women's development programmes into the conception and implementation of national development plans.

- A massive adult literacy campaign for women in rural areas and family education on nutrition, child care and legal rights.

Perhaps within this last category of education could fall family life education of both children and young adults.

For without doubt, women's greatest shame in 1983 must have been the horrifyingly high incidence of baby dumping.

Cde Sally Mugabe, at a Press conference called to introduce an emergency meeting on the problem, blamed ignorance and lack of education for baby dumping.

"I think young girls should be taught the dangers of meeting men from early school so that by the time they grow up they will know what to expect," she said.

Cde Sally suggested that girls sometimes abandoned their babies because they were afraid of society and its disapproval. But if judgment were to be made, it should be of both the girl and the man responsible for her pregnancy, she said.

The Prime Minister's wife told the 1 000 women gathered at the October meeting: "The number of babies we have lost through dumping is great and the gods and spirits are watching us. They are not pleased with us."

Cde Joyce Choto, chairman of the Zanu (PF) Harare province Women's League, told the meeting that women in all provinces were ready to mobilise people for educational meetings on child spacing.

Hopefully, 1984 will be a year in which women will surge forward, a year in which their voices will be heard . . . and respected.

BRIEFS

BATA SHOE COMPANY EXPORT--The Bata Shoe Company is to export footwear, and finished leather worth \$3 million to countries in Europe and Africa. The company is now planning ways of breaking into other markets both in and outside Africa. A spokesman said: "In spite of the global recession and its attendant problems which adversely affects the local economy, the company is planning a strategy to boost export of its products externally. We shall endeavour to keep pace with worldwide competitors." In October the company exported hides worth \$40 000 to Italy which has a well established leather industry. Bata participated at the leather fair in Paris this year, which had enabled it to export to Italy. Between August and November the company made sales well over \$2.5 million and would take part in the Bulawayo Trade Fair next year. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Dec 83 p 12]

TWO-WAY TRADING WITH TANZANIA--The Zimbabwe/Tanzania trade plan adopted by a joint commission of co-operation last month will start operating on January 1 a spokesman for the Ministry of Trade and Commerce said in Harare yesterday. The Zimbabwe Banking Corporation and the National Bank of Commerce of Tanzania have opened reciprocal accounts for this purpose and all applications for trade between the two countries are to be made through them. The spokesman said Zimbabwean exporters were to make specific applications through Zimbank, to the export payment section of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. Applications for an export licence or permit should be made to the relevant ministry. Tanzanian importers can open letters of credit denominated in Zimbabwe dollars with the NBC. The bank will then advise the letters of credit to the Zimbabwean exporters, through Zimbank. Zimbabweans can export foundry coke, dairy cattle, baby napkins, dried yeast, animal drawn implements, baby foods, Blair lamps, sanitaryware and copper oxychloride. Commodities to be imported from Tanzania are sea foods, sisal, twine and cordage, spices, common salt, cold rolled steel sheets, textiles, hardwood, aluminium circles and meerscham products. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Dec 83 p 8]

NEW BRIDGE IN MAKONI--A new \$30 000 Chikunzvi Bridge, for the people in the Makoni district who had problems communicating to other nearby centres when the river was full, was opened at the weekend. Speaking at the opening, the Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikowore, said that the people had been greatly inconvenienced by the lack of a bridge during the rainy season and had sometimes become isolated from other

centres while waiting for the river to subside. The new bridge had facilitated access to clinics, schools, markets and other facilities. Cde Chikowore said that allowing the local people to work with the District Development Fund labour force in building the bridge, had helped in keeping money in the area. He said that when the people were crossing the bridge, they should spare a few thoughts for 14 people who were killed by enemies and sacrificed their lives so that the bridge project could continue. The bridge, which was started in April and completed in August, saved \$10 000 by the use of ordinary stones instead of crushed stone. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 19 Dec 83 p 7]

ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION SENDS MEDICINE--The Ministry of Health yesterday received a consignment of medicine worth \$20 000 from the Call of Islam, an organisation based in Libya. The Secretary for Health, Dr Office Chidede, who received the consignment on behalf of the ministry said that the medicines ranged from cough mixtures to treatment for cardiac arrest. He said that they would be distributed to rural medical centres with the more sophisticated medicines being given to town centres. Giving the medicine on behalf of the Islamic organisation, the Libyan Charge d'Affaires to Zimbabwe, Cde Omar Dallal, said: "Because of the strong and good relations that exist between our two revolutions and to continue the co-operation which has started between our people since the struggle of independence for Zimbabwe, the Call for Islam has chosen Zimbabwe this year in their international aid programme." The Call of Islam will also give \$20 000 aid to the drought relief programme, said Cde Dallal. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Dec 83 p 5]

NORWEGIAN TEACHERS AND MEDICS--Zimbabwe and the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa yesterday signed a five-year agreement for the recruitment of skilled personnel, particularly secondary school teachers and medical staff, who will work in the rural areas. Thanking Norway, the Deputy Minister of Education and Culture, Senator Joseph Culverwell, said he looked forward to the arrival of the personnel after a long period of negotiations between the Government and the Norwegian organisation. The first group of eight teachers to be recruited next year arrive on January 6. The medical personnel had already been working in the country for over one year at the Mutoko district hospital. The Norwegian organisation will cover the recruitment expenses, including the travel fares from Norway to Zimbabwe and return. The salaries will be paid by Zimbabwe with the conditions of service the same as for other employees in the public service. The representative of the organisation, Miss Marianne Loe, said that this was the first time that the body had decided to continue its co-operation with a country after independence. Through the agreement, it hoped to strengthen contact with Zimbabwe. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Dec 83 p 4]

DANISH AID TO FARMERS--Denmark hopes to boost aid to Zimbabwe, especially in agriculture, by providing seeds, fertiliser and other needs. Speaking after the signing of a \$2.2 million agreement, the Deputy Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Cde Chimbidzayi Sanyangare, thanked the Danish government for its continued financial assistance towards the reconstruction of rural primary schools. The Zimbabwean government wanted to provide modest education to all children, particularly those in the rural areas who had been neglected by previous governments. Cde Sanyangare said that as the reconstruction programme was coming to an end the Government would now embark on the expansion and renovation of schools. The two governments signed two agreements recently on medium-size dams and the resettlement credit scheme for small-scale farmers. "The assistance to the Agricultural Finance Corporation will boost the farmers' productive capacity and create positive ripple effects on Sadcc and farther afield," Cde Sanyangare said. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Dec 83 p 1]

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